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It is a bulwark of democracy

Is the British Empire Obsolete?

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IN an age in which it is fashionable to decry imperialism, be it Russian, British, or—God forbid—American, it is well to define the term "imperialism" before proceeding further. The word obviously derives from the Latin stem *imper-* which as a verb *imperare* means "to give orders" or, to be briefer, "to boss." As a noun, *imperium* has become the accepted term "empire," used blandly for any relatively large-scale concentration of political control exercised by one people over another. Originally, the word merely expressed the maximum of power vested in the highest elective executive officials of the Roman republic. An office *cum imperio,* i.e., with the right of military command, belonged automatically to the highest level. No wonder that the destroyers of the Roman republic eventually chose the once harmless honorary title of *imperator* to denote their new one-man rule over the *imperium Romanum,* i.e., the area in which Rome "gave the orders."

The Roman empire, created in the 10 decades between 246-146 B. C., was, however, the first such structure built by a republic. This Roman republic, though not entirely democratic, possessed a far different political concept of individual rights and liberties from that prevailing in the preceding three empires which had been created and administered by absolute monarchs.

Ironically enough, the establishment of the far-flung Roman empire wrecked the Roman republic. High and low alike were unwilling to share with the conquered the government of the vast new realm and the civil liberties that went with Roman citizenship. The Roman provinces thus became a happy hunting ground for aristocratic governors and smart Roman businessmen. Nemesis, however, overtook the Roman rulers. A growing citizen-proletariat in Rome was the counterpart of the ruthless imperialist expansion. Social unrest and proletarian revolt became a standing menace. Eventually Julius Caesar, at the head of proletarian

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legions, overthrew the old republic and founded an imperial monarchy. He bequeathed to his adopted son and political heir, Augustus, a new policy aimed at gradual elimination of the abyss between the Roman rulers and their colonial subjects. The new monarchy rang the death-knell of the old republican imperialism. But while men began to chant the praises of the golden age of the *pax Romana* and the extension of Roman citizenship to all free men within the realm; the insidious change from enlightened to totalitarian despotism deprived the inhabitants of the empire of the fruits of the whole process. Instead of becoming free, fully privileged Roman citizens, the colonial populations eventually became Roman citizens subject to the whim and fancy of ruling despots.

THE ROMAN PARALLEL

One may perhaps ask, why contemplate the transformation of Roman provincials into Roman citizens enjoying whatever privileges that status still bestowed upon them? For one thing, the modern colonial empire of France has been developing along similar lines. The gradual integration of colonial peoples through the liberal grant of French citizenship, customs unions and direct representation in the governing bodies at Paris follows to a large extent the Roman pattern. There is, however, one important difference: the Roman monarchy, and not the republic, undertook the liquidation of imperialism. In the case of France, on the other hand, we see a democratic republic trying to succeed where the Roman republic failed.

Apart from the French, there are only two other colonial empires today, the Russian and the British. The Russians camouflage their imperialism by ruling their colonials through Communist puppets who leave the subjects a great deal of "cultural" but no political or economic liberties. The British, on the other hand, learned their great lesson through the successful rebellion of the American colonies in the eighteenth century. In a sense, one may say that the American revolution led to a complete change of British policy, amounting to a voluntary liquidation of the old-fashioned imperial concept. No longer is it fitting to speak of "the British empire," unless one refers merely to Great Britain, her crown colonies and protectorates. In place of the old British Empire, the British Commonwealth of Nations has risen. The assertion that "the British Empire is obsolete" thus actually implies that this strangest of modern political structures, this British Commonwealth of Nations, is moribund. In probing this problem, let us look at the historical record.

The transformation of the old British Empire into a democratic commonwealth has been under way since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Significantly enough, the first step in this transformation was the abolition of slavery throughout the empire, decades before Lincoln's famous proclamation ended slavery in the United States. Soon after this basic minimum of human rights was established for each inhabitant of the British Empire, the "emancipation" of collective units became a guiding principle of British co-

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lonial policy. In 1839, the Durham report emphasized the right of self-determination of colonial populations. Curiously enough, this principle was first applied not in nearby Ireland, but on this side of the Atlantic. Grave disturbances between the French and the British in Canada had led to the Durham report, and the French minority in Canada became the first one to which the new policy was applied. In the decades following the Durham report, Canada reached what came to be called "dominion status." Political scientists have been vainly splitting the constitutional hair: whether or not a dominion is sovereign. The nominal allegiance sworn to the British king (whose portrait, for instance, to this day graces Canadian stamps), the retention within the dominion of a lieutenant-governor appointed from England—these features have tended to obscure the fact that actually the dominions in the twentieth century are for all practical intents and purposes sovereign states. The admission of individual dominions to the League of Nations recognized this newly gained freedom. Subsequently, the Statute of Westminster formulated the relations between England and the dominions on this basis. Again, in the United Nations, we find the same principle recognized. The reality of independence of the dominion members within the British Commonwealth of Nations appears in stark contrast to the puppet acts of the republics of the Soviet Union which are free in theory but, in fact, are tied by iron bands to Moscow.

Apart from Canada, there are among the dominions today the Commonwealth of Australia, a pricking thorn in Russia's side, the Union of South Africa, the dominion of New Zealand and the Irish Free State. How free that Free State is can be seen from the fact that this "dominion" managed to stay neutral throughout World War II. With a magnanimity bordering on magnificent foolishness, the British refrained even in the darkest days of the war from occupying those very vital strategic ports of southern Ireland which not long before the war they had voluntarily handed over to the Free State. The past record of the British in Ireland is shameful, but, if history shows a gratifying instance of atonement, the short history of the Irish Free State gives proof of it, regardless of the eventual solution of the thorny problem of northern Ireland.

Among the dominions one finds two types: federations and single units. Federations are the Commonwealth of Australia, created by the voluntary union of diverse individual dominions on the Australian continent (which, incidentally, is the only politically unified continent today): Canada, whose provinces have fewer powers than the states in the United States and the Union of South Africa. In the Union of South Africa, the Anglo-French problem of Canada finds an even more explosive parallel in the Boer and non-Boer tensions. It speaks for the wide grasp of twentieth century British policy that, a few years after beating the Boers into submission on the battlefield, the British not only restored political equality to the vanquished, but,

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through the creation of the Union of South Africa, put them in a constitutional position which permitted the Boers to utilize to the full their numerical superiority. Despite this power, there were enough Boers of the calibre of Jan Smuts to join the non-Boers in a policy of cooperation which, while maintaining the internal balance of power in favor of the Boers, nevertheless led the Union into the two world wars on the side of Great Britain and her allies. Single units are the dominions of New Zealand and the Irish Free State.

At the opposite pole are those native protectorates and crown colonies still directly supervised or governed by the colonial office in London. These areas lie chiefly in Africa and the Malayan orbit. A curious "no-man's land" are the mandates whose origin dates back to World War I. The African mandates acquired by Great Britain at that time (most of German East-Africa, as well as a slice of Togoland and the Cameroons) have not caused international complications—as yet. Since the Union of South Africa was granted the adjacent South-West African mandate, responsibility for the African mandates has been divided between Great Britain and a dominion. This policy was also applied in the Pacific area where Australia and New Zealand each received part of former German territories as mandates. Controversial issues, on the other hand, have arisen in those mandates which Great Britain took over from the defunct Turkish empire, i.e., Iraq and Palestine. While Iraq was given a great deal of self-government, gradually approaching almost complete sovereignty, the Palestine mandate has become one of the most explosive problems of British policy. This mandated area was divided, soon after the war. An almost wholly Arabian area, mostly desert, east of the Jordan, for want of any historical name was helplessly called "Transjordania." It is administered by a Arab chieftain with a good deal of autonomous, and more recently, sovereign powers. The western section of the Palestine mandate has become the battleground between embittered Jews, streaming in tens and hundreds of thousands from that new and truly dark continent, Europe, and embittered Arabs who see no reason to be more charitable to those unfortunates than the great and truly noble world powers. The sorry spectacle of Britain, be it conservative or socialist, in Palestine has alienated more sympathies, both Arab and Jewish, than any decisive action would have done. John Bull is not cut out to be a tight-rope walker, and that's precisely what he is trying to do in Palestine.

Even if all the Jews still alive in Europe migrated to Palestine, (and not all of them will go there anyway) they would outnumber the Arabs only about two to one; i.e., there would be about two million Jews to more than a million Arabs in the country, surrounded by many more millions of Arabs. That under such conditions Palestine could ever become a Jewish menace within the Arab world is sheer nonsense.

The vaunted strategic importance of Palestine as the outlet for the Mosul oil lines and the new pipe-

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line now being built for American companies from Arabia to the Mediterranean is vastly over-rated. Modern weapons could destroy those lines from afar without much difficulty. The enforced British exodus from Egypt, another retreat from old-fashioned imperialism, is often given as the chief reason for Britain's need to guard the Suez canal from Palestinian bases. Inasmuch as quietly, but firmly the British—even *with* the consent of the natives—are installing themselves right now in the Italian colonies of Libya and Eritrea, as well as in Italian Somaliland, they can "protect" the Suez canal effectively from Malta, Tobruk, Benghazi and Cyprus in the Mediterranean and from the British controlled shores of the Red Sea. The British will, one may hope, eventually be able to seek a retreat from Palestine which would neither endanger their "oil-communications" nor their Suez life-line. Let it be said, however, that the fatuous critics of British administration in Palestine overlook the fact that 90 per cent of the Jews living today in Palestine have come there not with the will and by the invitation of the native majority, but only and exclusively by the grace of Britain. And after all, even the worst British partitioning scheme provides more self-government for both Jews and Arabs than either have known for many centuries.

It is, indeed, most flattering for the British that it is so often tacitly assumed that they *are* able to solve all and every colonial problem by some sleight-of-hand solution. Nowhere has this complacent illusion been more drastically shattered than in India. In the eighteenth century, the British, became the political heirs of another conqueror, the Mohammedan Mogul ruler. The Mongul empire in India became the foundation of British control over all of India. Other areas were annexed in the course of time, including Burma, the Northwest Territory and Beluchistan, but more than 600 Indian princes retained their thrones till this day. In exchange for their abandoning a foreign and military policy of their own, they received within limits, a guarantee of undisturbed sway over their own subjects.

INDIA

With the rise of modern party movements like those organized in the National Congress Party (founded, ironically enough, in 1885 by an Englishman named Hume) and the Moslem League, the trend towards Indian independence became more manifest. Since India had never in her entire history been what the West knows as a "national state," the nationalist movements in India were largely united only in common opposition to British control of Indian affairs. Conversely, from the Minto-Morley reforms in the first decade of our century till the India Act of 1935, the British government has persistently moved step by step towards voluntary abdication of its hold over India. Dominion status for India, promised during, but not granted after, World War I is now fast becoming a reality. Apparently, the British have decided that the only proof of the pudding is in the eating, i.e., the

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only answer to the often-posed question: can orientals in the British orbit learn how to govern themselves among democratic lines? is to try the great experiment. Developments in India, once a responsible all-India government has been established and gone to work, will supply this answer. Despite the truculent walk-out of the Moslem League, the first national government in India has now been formed—one may actually say—by British orders. With a man of Nehru's calibre installed as its leader, the new cabinet is in a position to try the most fascinating experiment in the entire transformation of the British Empire. Hitherto, only areas settled overwhelmingly by European stock have responded successfully to the dominion form of self-government. If India could prove to England and to the world her ability to assume with similar success her place in the group of democratic states, an enormous step forward would have been made towards gradual evolution of the non-European races still under British control from colonial dependency to self-government.

A century of British history thus testifies to the grim determination of the British to "liquidate" their empire. When Churchill said that he had not assumed the premiership in order to preside over the liquidation of the British empire, he meant in fact that he wanted to see this long-standing process of liquidation left in British hands. Nowhere in the world is there a power which has proven itself a better "educator" towards self-government. Our own record in the Philippines, in Puerto Rico or the Virgin islands is not such as to enable us to say blandly, "We would be doing this enormous job faster or better."

The universal problem of our age is no longer only the old supine query: can democratic government also be applied to non-European races, climes and traditions? Today, sadder and wiser than we were after World War I, we are asking ourselves: can it even be applied to the entire white race from whose midst political democracy sprang? So far as the British are concerned, they have already solved the "white" part of the problem with eminent success. They are now engaged in the titanic task which—if history grants them the necessary time — may stretch through another century of trying to develop, among their non-white subjects, foundations upon which to build the future self-government of those populations. As long as there still exist vastly different cultural levels between peoples on our planet, "imperialism" of this sort is inevitable.

PATERNALISM

The self-liquidating British "imperialism" is thus, in a sense, paternalistic. Without undue sentimentality or even tearful humanitarianism, it faces the historical truth bravely: existing economic and cultural differences give Britain the power and, in a sense, the right, not to say the duty to control—and protect—certain peoples today, but with each year the gap between ruler and the ruled will become smaller. The inevitable technological and economic unification of our planet is accepted by the British honestly, if not cheerfully. Be it Rhodesia, be

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it India, be it even Palestine, the time of political tutelage draws to an end. The process of self-liquidation of the British Empire is bound to continue. Some new nations or states will withdraw entirely from the British Commonwealth of Nations, others, and perhaps the majority, will enter into the free and equal relationship now prevailing between the dominions on the one hand, and Great Britain on the other. Most people are taking British achievements in the process of self-liquidation of the empire so much for granted that not the brilliant successes but only the inevitable mistakes and blunders of British imperial policy arouse widespread attention.

The old-fashioned imperialism which looked for an unchanging and perpetual retention of sole power in the hands of the rulers is obsolete. At one time the British Empire undoubtedly was ruled to a large extent from this point of view. Today, however, this policy is dying, if it is not already dead. What slow-moving minds still persistently call "the British Empire" is in our time an empire unique through its determined voluntary liquidation. It has also shown itself to be perhaps the most successful school of democratic government and peaceful "international" settlements within the family of nations.

No other empire in history can match the record of the British. One should never forget that the very founders of the United States were born British subjects and learned their practical politics at least in a colonial domain in which freedom of speech, and, to a large extent freedom of worship, as well as freedom from fear had been imported from Britain. Torn between the memory of our anti-British revolutionary war and the realization that, if the British Commonwealth of Nations did not exist, the future of democracy on earth would look dark indeed, the average American may well face with a chuckle the somber fact that while we did our best to get out of the British empire, our greatest interest today is to help preserve what's left of it. Less facetiously put: the end of the democratically orientated British Commonwealth of Nations would automatically mean the end of whatever democracy is still left in Europe. Democracy in Asia or Africa is a hope rather than a reality for decades to come. Latin America, with the possible exception of Mexico, is still a very long way from democracy in its true sense. Cooped up inside the United States alone, democracy would be unable to survive. Noah's ark harbored a lot of animals and plants, but it did not harbor democracy. Noah was boss.

Instead of worrying about the obsolescence of "the British empire," we should realize that it is one of the least obsolescent political structure of our age. Since the red Kremlin only too transparently cries "Thief", i.e., "Imperialism", whenever it finds its own imperialism cramped by the United States or the British Commonwealth, we better face the inevitable showdown realizing that if the British Commonwealth is obsolete, so is our hope of ever founding a democratic world order.

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A history of the trend from the social to the secular

Our Secular Culture

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THE other-worldly emphasis of the Middle Ages has given place to the worldliness of this; the God-centered universe to the nature-centered, scientific world. One does not go back far in the history of the Western world to the time when monarchs represented God on earth, holding their office by divine right; when their decrees were the will of God for their subjects, they themselves worshiped as gods. One can still find this philosophy persisting in parts of the Orient, where rulers are not only men but representatives of God on earth, if not divine themselves.

It is a long step from this philosophy to the ballot, from the doctrine "Divine Right of Kings," to "the century of the common man," but western man has taken that step not only in political philosophy but also in other spheres of thought and action. The trend away from an essentially sacred and mystical interpretation toward an essentially secular and rational interpretation of life is known as *secularization.*

Secularization as it has developed since the Middle Ages has consisted in substituting for supernatural and theological beliefs and explanations, naturalistic and reasonable ones. This change is one of the most profound influences affecting mankind and is at the basis of modern democratic government and of our scientific-technological age.

Under the Divine Right of Kings there could be no genuinely democratic government in the modern sense. Democracy is built on the idea that the individual has a right to decide political issues for himself. Every man has equal authority except as one is selected out by the ballot and thereby granted authority. The authority remains only as long as the people wish to retain their ruler in power.

Other institutions have also taken on a more secular character and continue to do so. The school and the entire educational process were once dominated by the church. Now, except for a few surviving academies, grade and high school education is almost solely a secular function provided by the state through taxation rather than through the church by gifts and charity. In the college field, many of the great institutions once church sponsored—Chicago, Yale, Southern California, Harvard—have become highly secular, depending primarily on endowments by the wealthy rather than upon church gifts. Denominational colleges handle each year a decreasing ratio of the total college population.

The aim of education, rather than being to train a few church

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leaders to perpetuate the faith, is to train for democratic citizenship and for economic competence—aims entirely secular. And yet with all of this, the protest raised so often a generation or two ago about the state universities being centers of scepticism, atheism and heathenism are seldom heard in this generation. Even the church colleges in order to meet secular accreditation standards hire Ph.D's without inquiring too carefully into their orthodox beliefs.

MARRIAGE

Marriage, rather than being considered a church sacrament, is with increasingly frequency considered a purely secular and civil affair. The ceremony is as acceptable if performed by a civil officer as by minister or priest. The family as such has lost most of its sacred characteristics. The father is no longer priest of the household, presiding over religious worship in the family. Family prayers and even grace at meals are vanishing ceremonies in the American home. Rather than thanking God for his food, the average workman is more likely to credit it to the labor union, government work relief, the political party which gave him his job, or some other secular benefactor, and to leave God out of conscious consideration.

Morality has become, to a considerable degree, secularized. Morals rather than being considered absolute and final, eternally binding and unchangeable, are considered man made, variable from community to community, group to group, and many of them having no real relationship to human goodness or survival. The real test of morality has become a secular one—not is it right by some sacred principle or tradition, but does it contribute to the social good?

Religion, too, is to an increasing degree measuring itself by secular standards. The building of a sense of social obligation, of social justice, of civic righteousness, is considered by forward-looking religious groups more important than righting man's internal life so that he will be a fit subject for a heavenly paradise. Education rather than conversion, training in righteousness rather than redemption, is the emphasis of modern religion. The mystical, sacred, divine character of the religious crusade of earlier generations is represented in our society only by a decreasing minority of the crusading, sectarian, revivalist denominations.

It is doubtful that a political leader of William Jenning Bryan's fame could be found to stage a public defense for a literal, fundamentalist interpretation of the Scriptures. Few church leaders, to say nothing of the masses of their followers, point with assurance to the Scriptures as the word of God and say, "Here are the rules of conduct by which we must be guided."

This is not to condemn institutional religion or to discount the supreme value of individual beliefs. It is to point out a trend of modern life which can readily be verified by any careful observer.

For religious charity, which emphasized the blessing to the giver for his generous outpouring of himself in tokens to the unfortunate, has

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been substituted state-supported social work and state-financed social security. The whole system of charity has been secularized and, in the process of transformation, is no longer charity. In urban industrial society, an allowance for the old is not a gift of charity but a pension; an allowance for the unemployed wage-worker and her orphaned children, to the crippled child or to the blind is not charity. It is a debt which a democratic people owes to the less favored of its members, and which it pays by taxing those who can afford to help.

This same philosophy of obligation includes the feeble minded, the insane, and certain other forms of sickness and will some day no doubt include all forms of illness and disease. In place of the tithe to the church has come the income tax, and, to a considerable extent, the one serves the same function as the other once did.

ADVANTAGES

A sacred culture, because it deals with absolutes, so-called eternal realities, is stable and relatively unchanging. The guideposts are traditions, not ideals. The aim of life is to relive the traditions, not to reach for ideals and goals as yet unattained by man. In it there is no philosophy of experimentation, invention and progress; no challenge to bigger and better things. In the sacred culture, yesterday is more important than today; in the secular, tomorrow more promising than today.

Psychologically, sacred culture leaves little room for initiative, individualism and the rights of man. Authority is unchallenged because it is of God and not of man. Initiative is stifled because man is not the master of his fate, the creator of his destiny; he lives by prayers and penance, by humiliation and self-abnegation, by bowing humbly to that which must be. The rights of man is not a doctrine in cultures where the will of God is the first and most constant consideration.

By contrast, secular culture liberates man psychologically. It stimulates initiative by saying that change is inevitable, that by directing its forces man can, by conscious effort, convert it to progress. It is inventive and experimentation-minded. Man made what we have in the way of improvements; man can make them better. Tomorrow's model is grafted onto today's design; today's design is clearly superior to that of yesterday. And viewing social regulations and law as man's making too, secular society holds that human relations may be improved by human tinkering with the machinery of government, and a more equitable and harmonious society can be built. The rights of all classes and of all races come to be considered important.

The American youth marvels at the Hindu who will stand by while the sacred cows wander through the market place or through the gardens consuming food needed to feed the hungry masses whose stomachs are never filled, or who will let the poisonous cobra go unharmed after sinking his fangs into human flesh. He cannot grasp a sacred culture wherein individualism, human rights, initiative, self-determination, inventiveness and change seem to

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have no place. He cannot understand men who make of penitence a profession, lying on beds of spikes, sitting on top of a post or holding an arm upright until it stiffens and grows in that position. He cannot understand the passive submission of millions to poverty and perpetual hunger, a high birth rate and an alarming death rate, famine and want. He cannot, in fact, grasp the significance of a culture which is essentially sacred in its orientation, because he grows up to accept the psychological values of our secular culture, one of the most secular cultures the world has ever developed.

There can be no science in a culture that is primarily sacred. The scientific mind forever questions and challenges. That which is proved must be proved again. The findings of today pave the way for more exacting research tomorrow. No tenet or principle remains forever inviolate. Science recognizes no sacred cows.

Under the older sacred culture, the universe was static, and all of nature fixed by creation. The physical and natural sciences, such as they were, studied and classified this static universe. Secular culture recognizes no fixed point in the universe. With the development of the naturalistic, evolutionary view, natural science in the modern sense was born. Then science faced the problem of explaining not only beginnings, but change and development. Rather than dealing with a fixed universe, it is compelled to deal with one that is ever changing and developing, yet subject to natural law.

This view paved the way for both natural and social science. A universe of law is one which can be studied and understood. The workings of natural law become a problem for understanding. When it was realized that man was a part of nature, the foundations for modern psychology and sociology were laid. His behavior, too, was susceptible to study and analysis. Instinct replaced the older concept of Adamic nature, instinctive drives, the notion of satanic leadings and divine inspiration as motivating forces in conduct. Later the notion of instinct was replaced by the idea of conditioning and related concepts employed to explain the elemental steps in learning.

Because it accepts the principle of experimentation and encourages initiative, secular culture changes with increasing pace. It gathers momentum by its own inventiveness. Because it believes in change, it expects from it improvement. Because it believes in initiative, it worships individualism. Conformity is expected only to the extent that it is required for group living.

In secular society, no institution survives for its own sake. Is the family good? Then let it serve the happiness of the individual, not merely to replace population to assure national survival, or to provide new members for the church. Is religion good? Then let it make men who are more fit to live with their fellows, who understand and practice tolerance and good will; not say ritual, follow ceremonies and do penance. Is government good? Then let its only test be its service in helping men live together

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in harmony and peace, in providing services and guaranteeing the rights of man, not obedience to law, respect for rulers or loyalty to symbols of nationhood. Are the institutions of property good? Then let them not be used to protect the wealth of the few but to assure the livelihood of the many. Is education good? Then let it be the possession of all, and not the privilege of the few who may use it to gain power over the ignorant to exploit their superstitions or fears.

Secular society is then dynamic psychologically. It makes an aggressive, extroverted attack on the natural environment and on the traditional culture as well. It casts aside the introverted, passive psychology of the sacred culture. It looks forward rather than backward; is man-centered, society-centered rather than god-centered, heaven-centered.

The implications of these profound differences in the two forms of culture are clearly obvious. Without understanding that modern society in the Western world, and in urban America in particular, is dominantly secular, one cannot begin to understand the forces that control modern life and form the individualistic personality.

The transfer to secular society has not been made without many maladjustments in social institutions and much stress on the individual personality. Social institutions still retain a great deal of the traditionally sacred even though serving man in a secular age. And many individuals still are trained in childhood to regard many aspects of life as sacred, only later to learn that they are regarded as entirely secular outside the family-neighborhood group of childhood.

Personal integration stems in large part from the integration of society in which the person dwells. A disorganized society places stress on the individual for he is torn between the alternatives of conflicting group patterns. The very secular emphasis of many aspects of our culture, which still at other points roots so deeply in the sacred culture from which it has stemmed, is a source of stress for many sensitive souls who try to reconcile the irreconcilable elements of the two. Many a high school and college student of the past generation has sensed the conflict between his basic religious training and the secular emphasis of science in the classroom. Even that conflict is not entirely a matter of history.

Walter Lippman described with exceeding clarity the stress of the transfer from the old order to the new which is yet incomplete, in his *Preface to Morals*. He talks of modern man who has achieved remarkable freedom from religious and moral taboos, but who, in so doing, lost his faith not only in the traditions but in life objectives. His defiance of the Methodist code and his atheistic tendencies have brought him no peace of mind. Lacking moral authority, he is coerced by opinions, fads and fashions of the moment. He has forsaken the old order where compulsion was often galling, but none the less acceptable because it represented the testings of an all-wise and beneficent God, for an order in which compulsion is still necessary for survival, but is of

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the group and, therefore, even more galling. He lacks landmarks by which to guide his conscience and fears losing his way.

There is no question that many people, in cutting loose from old faiths, have suffered disillusionment, cynicism and a degree of personal disorganization. Some who have lost the dynamic urge for service inspired by a vital religion, fail to find it in a purely secular social crusade. But the patron of secular society will say that these are the stresses of transition. One who is from the beginning motivated by secular values and purely social goals will find them as effective motivations as the religious values and goals of our ancestors were.

As to the shift in emphasis of government from sacred to secular, it is not easy to retain respect for government when it becomes a purely human affair, rather than a system of God's making. Many societies in the Western world have missed the strong hand of divinity and have been shaken by riot, revolution and gangsterism.

In the shift of marriage from a sacramental to a civil basis, a great deal has been lost in the way of seriousness of purpose and stability of intention. We talk of gin marriages and have an increasing proportion of annulments. These things do not happen in a sacred culture where marriage is a sacrament.

The foundation of the family is now sex expression and individual happiness. The very sensuous nature of these foundations threatens stability and piles divorce upon divorce. The motives and goals are different than in sacred culture where the family is a religious unit, a property unit, and exists for posterity, not for the happiness and sex pleasure of man and wife. What place did the Mosaic law make for sexual or psychological incompatibility? Mental cruelty or non-support?

We do not yet know whether individualism can be trusted with racial survival. For example, can a nation with education and birth control made universal replace itself in numbers and survive?

Nor do we know whether science in a purely secular world will lead to survival or total destruction. We hear threats of total destruction unless the latest weapons of war are harnessed by religious and ethical considerations, or unless man becomes peace loving in self-defense so that they will not be released upon mankind.

Secularization, while it destroys the force of traditional morality and thereby weakens the moral structure of a society, at the same time makes possible a new and broader group morality. By virtue of the fact that the old local group is overthrown, the way is opened for a more rational morality based on man's obligation to man in the broader generic sense. It does not always follow that the new morality develops with the overthrow of sacred stereotypes. It is at this point that secular society faces its most vital challenge and the Christian church is presented with its greatest opportunity.

Secular-minded man demands a code rational enough to live by and comprehensive enough to embrace all man's obligations to man.

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It must not arise

The Hitlerian Legend

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WITHIN a year after the unconditional surrender of Germany, the American public was reading such startling headlines as "Nazi Virus Thrives in American Zone," "1000 Germans Arrested in Nazi Plot," "Nuremberg Trial Used as a Forum of Nazism," and others which demonstrated that, no matter how complete our military victory may have been, National Socialism has not been completely conquered. It would be naive to believe that there is any immediate danger of the Nazis seizing power in Germany and staging a successful revolt against the occupying troops, but these reports are an indication that the battle has not yet been fully won and that there still exists in Germany a genuine threat to the future security of the world. We need only chart the growth of the Hitlerian legend to see how this threat may develop into real trouble.

What is meant by the Hitlerian legend? In this connection, a legend is a body of beliefs built on the seemingly inherent tendency of mankind to surround its heroes with a myth—the oft-repeated process of confusing a cause with a man and transforming that man into a demigod. For the present purpose, the important thing about such a legend is that it can result in later political action in the distant but foreseeable future. The growth of such a legend about Hitler and its possible issue in eventual action would not be a unique phenomenon in history, for history provides us with other examples of such a legend, the most notable being that of Napoleon.

It has been a commonplace of journalism during the past 13 years to compare Napoleon and Hitler. The argument runs as follows: "Napoleon was a dictator; Hitler was a dictator. Napoleon seized power during a period of disturbance and restored order; Hitler claimed to have done the same. Both professed to be exponents of a new revolutionary order and both embarked upon careers of conquest. Failing to conquer England, the two dictators turned upon their quondam ally and attempted to invade Russia. The scorched-earth policy of the Russians and their bold fighting qualities checked Napoleon, and this was one of the major factors in the ultimate downfall of the Corsican. Hitler, too, met his first serious setback in Russia, thereby setting off a course of events which eventually caused his fall from power."

Such a comparison is apt to be misleading as well as superficial. Thus, while both men might be called "little corporal," it should be remembered that Hitler was a genuine lance corporal, while Napoleon

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was, from the beginning of his military career, a professional officer whose title of corporal was an honorary one lovingly bestowed upon him by one of his adoring regiments. Furthermore, many important points of contrast as well as of similarity, can be found between the two dictators. Napoleon, for example, marked the culmination of a successful revolution, whereas Hitler represents the beginning of the dynamic phase of a new overturn which has not yet proved to be a genuine revolution.

This does not mean, however, that all historical parallels and similarities are valueless and that history never repeats itself. Although history never repeats itself exactly, we should be aware of the possibility of a proximate repetition. And such a possibility clearly exists in the fashioning of a Hitlerian legend similar to that which grew up after Napoleon. Historical legends and myths in the past often have inspired men to great deeds and acts of nobility and sacrifice. But myths can also prove dangerous: unscrupulous men, taking advantage of unrest or popular discontent, can use legends as a lever to raise themselves into power. The Napoleonic legend aided in establishing a new Imperial regime under Napoleon III, and the possibility is real that Hitler, like Napoleon, will be the subject of a legend which could conceivably bring about a return to the conditions of Nazism, the very thing which we have just fought a war in order to destroy.

It may be argued that Hitler represents such vicious characteristics that his career could not possibly lend itself to such a legend. But that is not so, for a historical legend of the type which survived Napoleon need not necessarily correspond to the truth. Myth represents Napoleon as the "Child of the Revolution" and the "Man of Destiny;" in reality, he was a self-centered autocrat. Hitler enslaved the Germans and attempted to plunge Western civilization into a abyss. His followers, using the fine sounding-board provided by us at Nuremberg, are already pointing to him as the man who "freed the German people and would have saved Western civilization from Bolshevism." The Nazi propagandists have given us positive proof as to how the meanings of words can be changed and how a great lie told often enough will come to be believed. Could not the same technique be employed in erecting a myth about Hitler, no matter how much the myth might deviate from standards of historical accuracy and fact? The Napoleonic legend did not bear a close relation to truth, yet it contained all the requisites which enabled it to be used later, and there is good reason to believe that the Hitlerian myth can and is finding the elements necessary to its creation and fulfillment.

There are several factors required for the growth and later utilization of a legend. First, it must have a romanticized leader who has achieved some degree of conspicuous success and is thus able to capture the imagination of the popular mind. Next, it must be propagated by someone, either by a group of men personally interested in the success of the legend or by people who pop-

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ularize it unwittingly, such as literary men and dissatisfied enemies of the existing regime. Third, there must be a milieu favorable to the growth of the legend, and this is usually provided by social and economic dissatisfaction with the existing situation. Finally, and most important, there must be a mass mind accessible to the workings of the legend.

Hitler, like Napoleon, lends himself to legend. Militarism, efficiency, display, ambition and power have always had a universal appeal. Both Napoleon and Hitler seemingly possessed that absolute power which every man would like to have, and they sedulously cultivated that appearance by means of adroit showmanship. The peculiar fascination of Napoleon for the French is very similar to Hitler's particular attraction for the German people. While Bonaparte posed as the product of the Revolution and the defender of order, subjects very dear to the French mind, Hitler appealed to what I would call, "the national persecution mania" and "paranoiac tendencies" of the average middle-class German. He carried on the historical traditions of Prussian militarism and Pan-Germanism exemplified in varying degrees by German leaders from the time of King Frederick William I, "the Potsdam Fuehrer," to Emperor William II.

The sight of a man rising from obscurity to supreme power and defying the entire world cannot fail to appeal to man's romantic tendencies. The fact that he approached complete success, at least for a time, would seem to suggest that he possessed almost superhuman qualities —the stuff of which legends are made. Although Hitler eventually failed, as did Napoleon, this merely adds an element of tragedy which makes the historical legend as attractive as the heroic myths of antiquity. Perhaps this helps us understand the statement of Captain Gordon Canning, who, after purchasing a bust of Hitler for £500 at a London auction, explained his action as follows: "Nearly 2000 years ago Jesus was mocked, scorned and crucified. Today he is a living force in the hearts and minds of millions, and those who mocked and scorned and tried him today are of no account."

PROPAGATORS

Propagators of the Hitlerian legend will not be lacking any more than were men to publicize the Napoleonic myth. Members of the Bonaparte family and the Imperial nobility had something to gain by propagandizing their late leader. Louis Napoleon, although he had done nothing worth while to deserve the honor, was able to exploit the fame and glory of his greater uncle and become successively President and Emperor of France. Despite the fact that he has no family or dynasty to carry on directly (at least Allied intelligence experts have been unable to discover such), a group of men trading on Hitler's name and representing his distorted thoughts might well come into power in the Germany of the future. The Hitlerian legend would be primarily to blame. Goering's statements at Nuremberg indicate that Hitler's henchmen and members of the Nazi official hierarchy will serve

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as propagandists for the Hitlerian legend in their effort to appeal to the judgment of posterity or to achieve the more immediate result of regaining the privileges they have lost by the change in regimes.

A demobilized army also provides fertile ground for the growth of the legend. In the nineteenth century, the *demisoldes,* officers retired on half pay, and the old soldiers of the Imperial Army were agents of the Napoleonic propaganda, for they looked back to the days when they had been the most honored estate in the realm and when they had carried French arms to victory throughout Europe. Similarly, all who have had a share in the victories of Nazi Germany and who have participated in the plunder of the conquered nations will have an interest in the return of the Nazi regime. This is one reason for the dangerous growth of pro-Nazi sentiment reported amongst the discharged *Wehrmacht* officers and men who constitute a large proportion of the student body at the University of Munich.

USE OF MYTH

But the advocates of a return to the conditions of Nazism will also come from others who did not have a personal stake in National Socialism but who will embrace its doctrines as a means of showing their dissatisfaction with existing conditions. Napoleon had the opportunity to write a retrospective justification of his actions after he went into exile, and the program which he claimed for himself as well as the prestige which legend gave him provided ammunition for attacks and criticism of later French regimes. Thus Napoleon was extolled as a champion of liberalism from 1815 to 1830 when France smothered under the oppressive hand of a reactionary government. He was hailed as the upholder of order from 1848 to 1852 under a liberal republic faced with problems of social unrest. Men who had suffered from Napoleon's rule, and who should have known better, used the Napoleonic legend to attack the Restoration government. Even the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, which pretended to give France a "safe" amount of freedom, cultivated the legend of Napoleon to cover up its own timidity in foreign affairs and lack of glory on the battlefield. It would not be too venturesome to suggest that succeeding regimes in Germany might use the Hitlerian legend in much the same way, just as the Weimar Republic deluded itself with the cult of Hindenburg. Opponents of such regimes will find their arsenal in Hitler's prospective program, set down in *Mein Kampf,* his will and in the spectacular achievements of his career. He will be lauded as a champion of national glory, order, or even socialism.

Besides the men who use the legend for selfish or political reasons, there will be a host of literary men who propagate the legend unconsciously merely by recounting the romantic episodes which attract them. Victor Hugo, for example, aided in popularizing the Napoleonic legend, but when he was faced with the reality produced by such a myth, in the person of Louis Napoleon, he was not pleased with what he

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had helped to produce: he ended by making a distinction between "Napoleon le Grand" and "Napoleon le Petit." It is entirely conceivable that some present or future men of letters will be fascinated by some facts of Hitler's life and work, although the actuality or the reality of the entirety would have sickened them. Furthermore, in Germany an "official school," or, in other countries, a "revisionist school," of historians will undoubtedly spring up. Hitler, when seen through the oft-times distorting lenses of "historical perspective" will appear quite different from our contemporary "close-ups" of him.

After the last war, the Germans complained that they were stabbed in the back" by the Jews, pacifists and socialists. These were presumably reduced to impotence in Nazi Germany, but Hitler in his will has already sounded the note which the German rewriting of history might take: "It is not true that I . . . wanted the war in 1939. It was . . . provoked entirely by those international statesmen who were either of Jewish origin or who worked in Jewish interests."

There already exists a vast amount of literature on Hitler and the Third Reich, and there is reason to believe that an avalanche of memoirs and histories will continue to descend upon us for many years to come. In addition to the mass of literary works dealing with Hitler, there will be many less articulate propaganda agents for the legend. Almost every home in Germany possesses a picture of *Der Fuehrer*, and nearly every man and child possesses some kind of uniform connected with the Hitlerian regime. Furthermore, there is a tremendous amount of bric-a-brac which bears the Nazi emblem. Very little of this has been thrown away by the thrifty Germans just because a change of regime has occured or because our military government has ordered its destruction on public monuments. It remains as a silent reminder of the glories of Nazi Germany.

SOCIAL CLIMATE

The legend thus has a "hero" and propagandists; another requirement is a situation favorable to its development. Just as the political and social conditions in France after 1815 fostered the Napoleonic legend, so might the present unsettled conditions within Germany favor the growth of the Hitlerian myth. Even if the reports of the "starving" Germans are exaggerated, and even if the spectre of hunger is banished within a year or so, that would not be a guarantee against the revival of the legend. The destruction and the dislocations caused by the war are bound to produce some form of economic distress, especially if Germany is stripped of the heavy industry with which it produced the machinery for war, but which could also be an integral part in the rebuilding of an economically prosperous and peaceful Germany. This economic distress might arise after a short and false period of prosperity. The unpopularity of succeeding governments and the peace settlement, which, if it is to be just, will nevertheless prove unpalatable to the Germans, can also help pro-

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vide a culture on which the virus of Nazism would again thrive. From the standpoint of the growth of the legend, it makes no difference whether the economic distress is real or fancied, German or international. The legend will feed on an imaginary dissatisfaction just as well as a real grievance.

Probably the most important condition which would favor the growth of the Hitlerian legend as an active political force is the fact that the Germans have proved remarkably susceptible to Hitler and the doctrines which he represents in the past and are likely to be so in the future. National Socialism is no isolated phenomenon growing out of the world depression of 1929. It is a logical outgrowth of many strong elements in the Germanic tradition: the artistic romanticism of Wagner, the belief in Germany's world-mission held by Treitschke and the Prussian historical school, the doctrine of "Blood and Iron" represented by Bismarck, and the entire militaristic and authoritarian tendency of the various Fredericks, Williams, and Frederick Williams who have ruled Prussia. This does not mean that the love of authoritarianism and militarism is an inherited national trait of the Germans, but it means that by education and tradition the modern Germans have changed little from the past ancestors of some of them—the Teutons—whom Tacitus described as preferring war and violence to industry and peaceful pursuits. The loss of the war has evidently done little to change this, if we are to judge by headlines reading "Germans Return to Nationalism—All Parties' Leaders Demand Strong, Unified Country."

Not only are the Germans predisposed to accept the principles underlying Hitlerism, but the beginnings of the Hitlerian legend already exist. A whole generation of Germans has been brought up to worship Hitler, who was represented as an infallible superman. Napoleon organized the University of France to fit his desires and introduced a cathechism which exalted the Emperor, but Hitler, aided by modern propaganda and educational techniques, was much more thorough in his policy of indoctrination. The "education for death" of the young Nazi taught him to accept unquestioningly the will of Hitler, and the main object of his life was to live, or if need be to die, for his Fuehrer. Even the supposed destruction of National Socialism has not resulted in an end to this type of thing. Reports now reach us that theories of race and heredity are still being taught in a German university and that "in rural schools any critical reference to Hitler and the Nazis is apt to be greeted by catcalls, boos and other signs of displeasure,"—and this under the very noses of our own occupation authorities.

The outlook thus appears rather pessimistic, with the legend seemingly destined inevitably to appear, indeed, if it has not done so already. Of what avail was it to fight if in another 25 or 50 years the Hitlerian myth results in another Fuehrer? Fortunately a sound recognition of the issues involved and of what

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factors bring about the growth of historical legends may aid us to combat them and prevent our giving way to undue pessimism and fatalism. It is obvious that the prevention of the rise of a Hitlerian legend must be one of our aims to "win the peace," and we must begin systematically, and without malice, to destroy those things which would make a return to Nazism seem possible and desirable to the German people. This may entail a complete revision of our present attitude toward Germany. Is it not far better to start from scratch with a realistic program than to continue with an already formulated but ineffectual policy or, worse yet, the policy of complete lack of policy?

First, we must proceed to de-romanticize Hitler. An indispensable preliminary in this direction would be the tracking down of every rumor as to Hitler's whereabouts or death. The belief that Hitler is still alive and plotting in the Bavarian hills, Portugal, or the Argentine remains widespread among the German people. Such a belief tends to heighten the romanticism which surrounds him, and we must once and for all put an end to such rumors. If Hitler really died at the Chancellery in April 1945, the true circumstances of this ignominious and somewhat cowardly end must be impressed upon the minds of the Germans, rather than the heroic notion of "dying bravely at the head of his troops" which his followers have tried to promote. Dead or alive, Hitler's end should not be allowed to assume the romantic cast which Napoleon was able to give to his own last days, as the Prometheus bound to the rock of Saint Helena.

A further step in removing the cloak of demigodliness which surrounds Hitler would be to show that his successes were not so great as they seem to be, and were due more to the weakness of his enemies rather than to any superior strength of his own. Although to some he might appear as a solitary individual defying the entire world, in truth he was but a bully who intimidated his defenseless neighbors and stood off an unwieldy coalition. Nor was the superb instrument which he used to achieve his ends, the German army, entirely a Nazi creation.

PROPAGATE TRUTH

Secondly, any would-be propagators of the Hitlerian legend must be combatted by a campaign to reveal the truth about Nazism to the German people. Unless we are to allow Goering's disgraceful boasts at Nuremberg to go unchallenged, we must show the Germans that Hitler and Hitlerism did not and could never bring about a "new order" in Germany; instead of the wealth and power he promised, Hitler brought nothing but misery and degradation. The Germans have been too inclined to blame Hitler only for the defeat, not for the war, and even the defeat they will not lay directly at his door. We must prove to them that Hitler and Nazism were completely responsible for the war and their defeat. They must be shown that the war guilt lies squarely upon the shoulders of the National Socialists and that they were defeated by the superior forces

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of the enemy, forces which included, besides tanks and airplanes, the outraged and awakened moral consciousness of mankind. A corollary to this point of the program would be to give positive and concrete aid to the enemies of Hitler and National Socialism instead of allowing the Nazi slowly to infiltrate into positions of power and dominance.

To prevent a milieu which would be favorable to the growth of the myth, a new social order must be built throughout the world so that the Hitlerian legend will not be permitted to feed on discontent and disgruntlement. The Germans must be made to realize that any imperfections which exist in this new social structure are due not to the vindictiveness of the Allies but to the unsettled conditions which are the inevitable aftermath of any total war.

Finally, a mass re-education of the Germans is necessary to uproot the traditions of militarism and authoritarianism and the nauseous weed of Nazi racial doctrine. They must be taught that war does not pay, even to the victor, that Hitlerism does not bring the desired results, that lasting peace depends on international honor and cooperation rather than on bluff and force, and, surprising as it may seem, that truth possesses ultimate and objective value.

• Woman (to butcher): "I'll take pork chops, but make them lean."
Butcher: "Yes ma'am, to the left or the right?"

• Young man: "Your daughter promised to marry me."
Father: "What did you expect, hanging around our house every night."

• As the scientist said after a hard day over the test tubes: "Oh, my aching bacteria."

—Capper's Weekly

• She had just been introduced to an actor.
"Oh, Mr. Hossenfeffer," she said, "I suppose you actors hate boos more than anything else."
"Well, madam," he replied, "it all depends on how you spell it."

• "Have you heard? Bob went blind from drinking coffee."
"No! How did it happen?"
"He left his spoon in the coffee."

—The Owl

• A man rushed into a newspaper office and announced, "My name's Auchnutty."
"That so?" said the editor noncommittally. "What about it?"
"What about it?" roared the other. "You printed in your paper today that I'm dead!"
"Um-m-m," mused the editor. "Must be some mistake. We're very sorry."
"Very sorry," mocked Auchnutty. "Say, do you realize what a fix I'd be in if I believed everything I read in your paper?"

—Quote

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Are they prepared?

Tomorrow's Voters

By Ed Ritter

Principal of the School for Organic Education

THIRTY million pupils are renewing old pathways across city lots and country meadows to America's public schools. Are the deepening paths symbolic of old facts and old regimens to be encountered at the schoolhouse? Or is it with a new urgency that our teachers greet their classes at the opening of this second school year of the Atomic Age? Is there a zeal appropriate to these last miles of the marathon "race between education and catastrophe?"

Miss Brown feels the undeniable stirring of this new urgency and zeal. She also feels a cold pessimism settling in her heart. Miss Brown, our average teacher, is interested in human beings and has a live social conscience. Although her hair is lightly streaked with gray, she keeps abreast of the times. She comprehends the scientists' warnings that atomic energy is now a first degree danger to civilization.

She reads her professional journals and knows the staggering responsibility of the schools in 1946. She is not a coward. She is willing to face the fact that the public school is education's only likely entry in the race against catastrophe. The private schools, the colleges, and the quality press carry education's banner bravely—but they are so small.

Where but in the public school can 85 per cent of the 5 to 17 year-olds be concentrated and taught the new responsibilities of One World citizenship? In the homes? Not while the parents still believe in national sovereignty. In the churches? Not while the churches are preoccupied with denominational controversies and heaven.

Miss Brown has been amply apprized of the need for a strong heart now. "Teachers have *got* to be both intelligent and zealous for international collaboration and cooperation . . .," urges George Zook, president of the American Council on Education. "The future peace of the world depends more on the school teachers than it does on the generals and admirals."

"Education must either transform the hearts and minds of men or be completely irrelevant," Robert Hutchins cryptically sums it up.

With such challenging phrases ringing in her ears, why is Miss Brown hesitant? Whence her melancholy intimations? There are a number of minor sources—and one big one.

Miss Brown's major doubt stems from the dullness and curricular confusion that has characterized the school's attempts at indoctrinating for intelligent citizenship to date.

As everyone is tired of being re-

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mined, the nation has always depended upon education as the basis for democratic government. No one has questioned Thomas Jefferson's assertion that "if a nation expects to be ignorant and free, it expects what never was and never will be." But, excepting brief flurries of patriotism during the wars, the schools have not been more than half-awake to the responsibility implicit in the close relationship between education and democracy.

It would be logical to assume that our conspicuous political corruption would be found in those states where our schools are most neglected. As a matter of fact, though, Mayor Hague's state ranks second only to New York in public school expenditure per pupil, and Mayor Kelley's state ranks fourth. Marie Syrkin, in *Your Schools, Your Children,* speaks of a New York judge who had recently been elected even after so discrediting himself that his nominees had tried to withdraw his candidacy during the campaign. "It reflected the deep indifference of a large percentage of the electorate to such fine considerations as moral issues," Miss Syrkin concluded.

With such glaring examples of our most expensive school systems' failure to produce alert municipal citizenship, the leap to successful preparation for alert world citizenship gives pause to the most optimistic teacher.

It must give a pause long enough to produce remedies. When our schools can inspire so little interest in intelligent voting, they have allowed dullness to threaten their foundation. Much of the dry-rot already there is the result of our having deliberately de-emotionalized the teaching of social sciences.

Was ever a volume less gripping than your dignified civics textbook with its sombre boldface topic headings warning you of lists of this official's duties and that department's functions? "Colorless as chalk," Professor Beard calls them. Could any malady have rendered the teacher more bloodless than the "objectivity" fetish by which she felt obliged to hide all strong feelings on all controversial issues?

History and government classes have dealt with cold facts instead of with the stirring story of blazing issues—of idealisms in sharp conflict with each other. And it is small wonder that the cold facts are not remembered. It has been scientifically demonstrated that learning is most effective when it is associated with emotionally colored episodes. Emotion is not the enemy of fact. It is, rather, the human characteristic that gives meaning to facts and causes them to affect behavior.

Strong classroom exhortations about responsibilities in a democracy are not enough. Scare talk about the exciting possibilities of atomic annihiliation is worse than useless. We shall have enough psychoneurotics in the coming uneasy decade without introducing fear into the schoolhouse.

The positive solution is the learning situation that makes a science of "social science" and that involves pupils intellectually *and emotionally* in real issues.

For example, an Alabama high school government class recently made a study of the poll tax. The students learned the sociological as-

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pects of the problem through a door-to-door public opinion survey in their community. They analyzed their townsmen's biases for and against democratic voting practices, and they crystallized their own conclusions in a ringing anti-poll tax letter to the Southern Election Reform League. By discovering the human, living element in the facts with which they dealt, those pupils were making science of their social science study. Because they lived their learning experience, enthusiasm accompanied their conclusions. The learning had significance.

This reveals two resources deep in adolescent psychology that await the schools' attempts to inspire intelligent citizenship: 1) love of reason, and 2) fresh idealism. Given the intellectual apparatus and the guidance, the public school can become an excellent laboratory for the student's scientific analysis of the complacency, prejudice, and fear that produce voting indifference, war and global insecurity.

It should be clear by now that the public school is not conceived of as a place for all sorts of special pleaders bubbling with all sorts of causes. But the school should certainly cease to abide dullness even under the dignified alias of "objectivity." It should have no hesitancy in espousing the One World idea.

America's wartime case against Germany and Japan was presented in the schools without inhibition. Classroom walls glowed with colorful war posters. Teachers carried out registrations for Selective Service. Teachers registered civilians and distributed half a billion ration books for the O.P.A. Teachers and students sold $2,000,000,000 worth of war stamps and bonds. Students gathered 25,000,000 tons of waste paper.

Humanity's case today against nationalism is no more arguable and hardly less pressing. Its case against racialism on the American front can be made as tangible as was America's wartime opposition to fascism abroad. As will be indicated later, complacency has not settled on all of our schools, but it has returned to many.

It will be protested that the school has aims other than the developing of intelligent world citizenship. It is true that the social sciences must not swallow the curriculum. It is also true that the most conspicuous need of our day lies in the realm of human relations; more specifically, it is man's need of learning to live under world law. The thoughtful essayists are almost completely preoccupied with the lag between technological advance and political advance. The school curriculum that won't bend under all this weight has completely ossified. A stiff curriculum is a stiff back in the race against catastrophe.

While the long-range aims of education change little, curricular emphasis must be flexible. When, according to a 1641 record, "John Endicott moved for a free public school, and therefore, wished to have a town meeting" the aim was to combat ignorance, "it being one of the chief projects of the ould Deluder Satan to keepe men from knowledge . . ." The old Deluder is indubitably up to the same general

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project in 1946 that he was in 1641, but it may well be that the knowledge from which he is currently trying to keep men is comprehension of One World. We must accommodate ourselves to his strategy as well as to his ultimate purpose.

If social studies are not to command a materially larger portion of the curriculum—and the Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society doesn't invite such an expectation—the other branches of study must be more directly related to the crisis of our time.

MORAL VALUES

This necessity was stressed at the last conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the National Educational Association. "The schools of today," said Dr. Goodwin Watson, "need to be . . . more concerned with the development of moral values than material production as we have in the past, and to realize that the survival of our own civilization depends in a large degree upon the values we place upon human beings."

The university counterpart of this re-emphasis was urged by Jacques Barzun in *Teacher in America.* "There is no doubt whatever about the place of the sciences," he says, "they *are* humanities and . . . they should be introduced *as humanities* at the earliest moment." (Italics his.)

The Springfield Plan instituted several years ago in the Springfield, Massachusetts, public schools demonstrates that alert administrators can take hold of their school programs and point them squarely in the direction of alert democratic citizenship. The Springfield plan, promoted by Dr. Clyde R. Miller, teaches democracy from the kindergarten to the twelfth grade. "Learning and Living Together" units on the elementary grade level attempt such imaginative projects as the making of artistic panels that depict the basic democratic goals of human freedom and equality of opportunity. Junior High pupils gather materials that illustrate the contributions of many nationalities in the development of Springfield. A basis is laid for the appreciation of various culture patterns. The high school program makes room for such activities as scientific study of prejudices, the establishment of democratic student government and the building of personal philosophies rooted in democratic beliefs.

There are a few other systems that appear to be fully recognizing tomorrow's voters in their classrooms. A letter just received from Assistant Superintendent of Cincinnati Schools G. H. Reavis states: "We have sent 12 leading members of our staff to Intercultural Workshops outside of Cincinnati."

But Miss Brown, United States schoolteacher, knows that Springfield and Cincinnati are not representative. Her chief despondency about her high school program is summarized by Robert Hutchins' criticism of the college curriculum: "The crucial error is that of holding that nothing is any more important than anything else." By and large, the schools lack the experience of having built curricula around the directing moral idea of intelligent citizenship in a democ-

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racy. Had that been achieved, Miss Brown would take a more confident view of educating for citizenship in this new age that has imposed a startling set of political necessities.

Then there are at least two minor reasons for Miss Brown's pessimistic view of the situation. She is disappointed about the timidity of the educators and statesmen who formed the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization. When these purported leaders were called to London last November to help organize U.N.E.S.C.O., she believed her profession was about to show confused humanity a way out.

U.N.E.S.C.O.

Perhaps, for instance, the textbooks would at last be placed under the control of an international commission. Future jingoists' and dictators' attempts at indoctrination might be detected in their beginnings and referred to the U.N. No doubt U.N.E.S.C.O. would seize upon the incongruity of any international supervision of armaments when there is no international supervision of school indoctrination. As a high school boy pointed out in a composition last spring: "The bomb is a harmless object. Everybody remains in a state of rest until compelled to change that state by some outside force . . . We have no fear except of this outside force—man." What has U.N.E.S.C.O. done in recognition of its obvious opportunity to condition this dangerous "outside force?"

Its charter blandly assures the 44 participating nations that "the proposed organization is prohibited from intervening in the domestic educational matters of a state." And there is limited consolation in U.N.E.S.C.O.'s courageous stand against illiteracy and in its benign wish that such laudable projects as international student exchanges, availability of books, and the spreading of mutual understanding go forward.

Finally, Miss Brown has a sense of loneliness in her task. Since Pearl Harbor, a quarter of a million teachers have quit the profession. She knows the reason why former teachers didn't return to the classroom on being discharged from the armed services and after finishing their war jobs. She's reminded of the reason every time the weekly meal ticket goes up another dollar and every time the professional dues have to be paid. Her present $1,786 salary is 23.9 per cent above her 1940 earnings, but the B.L.S. cost-of-living index shows that her real wage has lowered.

New recruits are not in training to fill the gaps left by the men and women who can't financially afford to go on teaching. Teachers' college enrollments have dropped 50 percent since 1941.

It would have been on young vigorous colleagues that Miss Brown would have wished to depend most in the advancement of a high cause and a new loyalty. Their absence means she will have larger classes and less opportunity than ever for thorough teaching and individual instruction.

But despite the curricular arteriosclerosis and the poverty of spirit and purse within her profession, there is still that undeniable stirring of urgency and zeal in Miss

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Brown's heart. She has not yet conceded the race to catastrophe.

It's her schoolteacher nature, of course, to believe in young people; but her feeling may have more than a subjective basis. Here and there are already to be seen inspiring instances of school youths' energetic responses to the challenge of today. Given a right understanding of the challenge, Miss Brown's pupils are going to respond with the sustained enthusiasm that characterizes the Student Federalists, the Youth Council on the Atomic Crisis, and Youth in America for World Youth Organization.

The Student Federalists, committed to making world citizenship a political fact, now have thousands of members in high schools and colleges throughout the United States. "Minutemen of 1775 met in Concord to plan the part they could play in the fight for a new free government," recalls *Scholastic* (May 13, 1946). "On February 8, 1946, students assembled in the same little Massachusetts town to plan the part today's youth can play in building a federal world government. This meeting grew out of the enthusiasm of a 16-year-old Paul Revere, Harris Wofford, who spread his message on a bicycle." As stated in the Concord charter, Student Federalists believe "only a world sovereignty based on the principles of federation can destroy the irresponsibility of nationalism while preserving national identity."

A glimpse of the strength of the Youth Council on the Atomic Crisis in the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, High School is to be had by observing its effect on student opinion At the request of the writer, Y.C.A.C. polled the student body of the Oak Ridge High School on a series of questions pertaining to nationalism. To the question, "Do you believe that the U.N. charter should be amended for a world government?" 73.2 per cent of the 673 students voted "yes,"; 16.1 per cent "no"; and 10.7 per cent "no opinion"; 70.4 per cent of the students believed such a step should be taken immediately.

Y.C.A.C. speaking teams have carried their cause to other student bodies as distant as New York and Philadelphia. They prepared a 10-page special edition of the high school paper on atomic control and sent it to every public high school in the nation.

Students of the Cincinnati Public Schools wrote and overwhelmingly adopted a pledge concluding: "In my daily conduct, I will consecrate myself to the ideal of human equality, human fellowship and human brotherhood."

You know how Miss Brown feels as she looks out of the classroom window and sees that laughing gang of sophomores running and kicking through autumn's red and yellow leaves. Such idealism— such social revolution just an inch or so beneath the chatter about the fall dance and the opening game. Will the school find a way to ignite it? Will that latent idealism some day blast away the crusted political dogma that now cramps man's spirit and obliges him to dwell fearfully in a divided, suspicious world?

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The energy beneath our feet

Bikini, a Sneeze in a Windstorm?

By Nancy Mayo Waterman

ON June 30, 1946, *The New York Times* printed a short notice to the effect that the atomic bomb explosion in the first experiment at Bikini had not been strong enough to register on the Harvard University seismograph. In fact, a representative of the college was quoted as remarking that "compared with an earthquake, this explosion was just a sneeze in a windstorm."

To the layman, the explosions at Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Bikini have been awe-inspiringly terrible. With large parts of great cities so pulverized that they were ground to dust, with thousands of men, women and children killed within seconds and clouds of rubble blown 40,000 feet in the air, it would seem that the ultimate in explosive destructive force had been witnessed.

Yet a man at Harvard has said that such an explosion is but a sneeze in a windstorm compared with the force exhibited when an earthquake occurs. Much of the force exhibited in atomic explosions thus far has undoubtedly been dissipated into the atmosphere. Actually atomic energy and energy generated during an earthquake will not be comparable until an atomic bomb has been exploded within the earth's crust.

What are the causes of earthquakes? How often do they occur? Exactly how much energy is released during an earthquake? Earthquakes, to people living in the eastern United States, Canada, northern Europe, northern Asia, most of Africa, Brazil and Australia, are merely weird phenomena which rattle the windows and set the handles of sideboards tinkling.

These relatively stable parts of the world, formed in many cases of granitic crystalline rocks, have been areas of prolonged erosion. Between these stiff and unyielding areas lie the layered eroded sediments, where most of the plastic folding and subsequent crumpling in the earth's crust occur.

Actually, between 1620 and 1869, New England was shaken slightly some 231 times, and, as late as 1945, tremblings have been felt in the region. Bradford's "History" gives a description of the first earthquake felt after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock: "This year [1638] aboute ye 1. or 2. of June was a great and fearful earthquake; it was in this place heard before it was felte. It came with a rumbling noyse, or low murmure like unto remoate thunder; it came from ye norward and pased southward. As ye noyse aproched nerer, the earth begane to shake and came

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at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes and such like things as stoode upon shelves, to clatter and fall downe; yea persons were afraid of ye houses them selves."

Possibly the greatest havoc caused by such gentle shocks is the loss in chimneys which at times caused enough disgruntlement among the townspeople in New England to be recorded in regional histories. In 1904, a shock was felt over 300,000 square miles in the Northeastern United States and bricklayers had a busy time repairing chimneys in St. Stephens, New Brunswick, and Eastport, Maine.

Are the forces felt in these regions indeed equal to the forces witnessed at Hiroshima? Obviously not.

On August 4, an earthquake centered 1,520 miles from New York City, just west of Puerto Rico in the Atlantic Deep, shook the West Indies. Two thousand miles away in St. Louis, Missouri, the shock was so intense that a seismograph was knocked out of commission, and the pointer was thrown right off the recording chart of the seismograph at Weston College, Massachusetts.

But these tremors are mild compared to those catastrophic earthquakes which have occurred in the not far distant past.

Seventy-six seconds before noon on September 1, 1923, the houses in Tokyo and Yokahama, Japan, began to shudder as if shaken by a gigantic hand. Sixteen seconds later the cities were a mass of shattered stone and broken walls. Fires raged; the water system broke down. Ninety-nine thousand three-hundred and thirty-one persons were reported killed; 43,476 were missing and 107,733 were injured. Five hundred and seventy-six thousand, two hundred and sixty-two homes were destroyed and a property loss of $4,500,000,000 was estimated.

The great fires which resulted after this earthquake when high winds fanned the smoldering ruins were recognized to be one of the main causes for loss of life and property in the crowded cities. On rebuilding the cities and in constructive urban planning all over Japan, it became a policy to have wide streets, many parks and large open spaces suitable for refuge. These precautions were to prove of aid when the Americans started bombing the islands. According to John Hershey's widely read report on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, many people were able to save themselves from the raging fires which swept the city because of the foresight with which earthquake-minded engineers had built.

According to Robert Mallet, a British engineer who made a profound study of earthquakes, more than 13,000,000 people have undoubtedly died as a result of this scourge which strikes certain portions of our earth with persistent irregularity.

Because man is a rational being, he looked for reasons why the earth would discard so suddenly and inexplicably its seemingly stable and secure form. For centuries it was felt that divinity itself was at work

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and whole rogue's galleries of pagan gods have been painted by priestly artists attempting to make use of the phenomena in the cause of religion.

During the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, the English clergy blamed the manifestation on the Catholicism rampant in the Portuguese city. The Catholics living in Lisbon in fear and trembling, hastened to convert to the true faith, willy nilly, all the Protestant heretics remaining in the city, in a frightened attempt to ward off further divine wrath.

With the growth of scientific curiosity, however, and slow renunciation of the theory that divine desire is a cataclysmic motivating force, men turned to other explanations of earth tremors.

ORIGIN

Most of the theories of the origin of the earth assume that the earth is a gradually cooling mass which was once molten. It is now solid as deep as its core at a depth of 1,800 miles. The cooling however, is a slow process. The crust of the earth, composed of a 40-mile layer of rocks which are lighter than those substances forming the underlying layers, cools more slowly than does the interior. The surface is heated by the sun and receives what heat the interior gives off, thus its temperature remains unchanging and its volume remains fairly stable. As the interior of the earth cools and contracts by infinitesimal degrees, the outer shell thus becomes too large and tensions accumulate which result in folding and bulging. As the crust folds and bulges, the rocks give way and cracks are formed either on the surface itself or somewhere within the 40-mile layer. When tension is relieved by a crack, the earth is jarred by the blow and our instruments record a new earthquake.

Though this is not the only theory attempting to explain crustal tension, it is one of the most likely. This deformation of the crust occurs very, very slowly through millions of years. Mountains may be born if the slow accumulating stresses are great enough. Meanwhile, day by day, the ground we stand on shows the pain of these stresses by small sub-crustal movements which send out tremors duly recorded on seismographs all over the world.

Though most of the severe earthquakes are caused by crustal movements, large landslides have been known to shake the earth with tremendous force. Volcanic action such as that at Krakatoa in 1883 occasionally causes local disturbances of the crustal layer.

Stress within the earth which reaches a breaking point is evidenced on the surface in several ways. At times, fractures like giant cracks occur along long lines or narrow linear zones. These ruptures are known as *faults,* and pronounced displacement may occur. Faults, either surface or sub-surface, are believed to be the main cause of earth shocks. It has been noticed by recorders that the centers of recurring tremors often occur in a linear distribution.

The most famous example of a fault in the United States is found in California. On April 18, 1906, the San Andreas Fault, which runs along the coast of California, broke

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for a distance of 270 miles. From Upper Maltole in the north to San Juan in the south, a horizontal displacement took place. In San Francisco, the only large city in the immediate neighborhood of the fault, about 390 people were killed. Water mains were broken; trolley tracks were severed and pulled apart and whole business blocks were disrupted. It was estimated that 28,188 homes were destroyed, and the city suffered a property loss of some $500,000,000. At other places along the fault, roads were torn asunder and their two halves separated as widely as 21 feet in places. One hundred and thirty thousand million, million foot-pounds of energy were released during the faulting; energy equal to lifting one cubic mile of rock 6,000 feet.

Because the majority of earthquakes are not accompanied by actual surface faulting, other theories have been advanced for movements causing tremors.

JAPANESE THEORY

The Japanese once advanced the theory that faulting is a secondary cause of earthquakes. They believed that the primary cause was the movement of molten rock (magma) at depth. Cavities were believed to exist filled with magma undergoing chemical and physical changes which in turn created slow changes in pressure. If the pressure became great enough, the magma escaped through fissures opening into the surrounding rock. The ejection of the magma was thus believed to have the same effect as the release of tension by faulting.

This theory was based, according to the Japanese, on the fact that the level of the land had been seen to change in Japan, during periods of crustal vibration.

In order to tabulate his knowledge of earthquakes and to provide a stimulus for the study of the phenomena, man has created *seismology*, the science of earthquakes.

The range of shock intensity has been scaled. Shocks of intensity I are barely noticeable; those of X, actively destructive. Regions affected by earthquakes are divided into intensity zones and lines drawn through points of equal stress are known as *isoseismals*. Usually these lines are circular or elliptical belts around the central area of shock.

Most of the earth's tremors of any intensity have been discovered to lie in one or the other of two broad seismic bands. One of these bands surrounds the Pacific Ocean, and the other makes its way slightly north of the equator starting with the Pyrenees in Spain and reaching into the mountain ranges of Tibet. These belts noticeably follow the great mountain ranges which in themselves are indications of tremendous crustal stress.

Before faulting was conceived to be one of the main causes of earthquakes, the students of seismology spoke of the *focus* or *centrum*, terms given to the point of shock origin within the earth's crust. The point on the surface of the earth directly above the focus was known as the *epicenter*. Ideally, isoseismal lines were supposed to move in concentric circles around this epicenter.

Although these terms are still

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used in the science today, they are now known not to be fixed points, and the isoseismal lines surrounding them usually point to the existence of fractures.

But how are the points through which these isoseismal lines are drawn, reached? They are plotted with the use of an instrument called a seismograph. This seismograph consists of a mass of metal, suspended like a pendulum, which tends to remain inert even though distinct earth tremors shake the bedrock on which it is mounted. A pencil pivots on a frame attached firmly to a pier mounted on the bedrock. One end of the pencil is attached by a free-moving joint to the heavy pendulum and the point rests on a paper-covered drum. Ordinarily a straight line would thus be traced, but if tremors occur, the frame on which the pencil is pivoted moves from side to side, the pendulum holds one end of the pencil stationary, and a sinuous line is traced on the paper-covered drum. Thus, all earthquakes of any intensity are plotted by seismograph stations set up all over the world.

It was soon learned that every main shock is accompanied by preliminary tremors, one set compressional and the other transverse. By discovering the time interval between these two waves sets, the distance from the epicenter could be computed. If the shock had been felt by other seismograph stations, it became fairly easy to discover the epicentral area.

Talk of "epicenters" and "foci" is too dry, however, for the average dweller in one of the earth's two great seismic belts. What he really wants to know is whether he should build a new chimney now, or wait for another month until after the next quake, or possibly whether it would be better to give up the idea of having a chimney at all.

Are earthquakes predictable? No, they are not.

At one time in Japan the villagers living along the sea coast believed that a change in the level of the sea foretold an earthquake. This theory was proved false by the absence of any change in level during the 1930 tremor at Idu.

At times chimney owners in a hopeful frame of mind have listened to statements that a region that has had one earthquake need not worry for another 50 years. This too, has proved fallacious as the Indian Ocean alone has been known to have 10 major quakes in 17 years.

Even though a great deal of research has been done on the possibility of predicting further tremors along faults such as the San Andreas in California, it has been conceded that no man can tell the exact time whem subterranean forces, locked within rock stretched, shoved and folded beyond endurance, will be released in destructive waves at times equal to razing 9000 square miles of territory and of being felt over one and three-quarter million square miles as was the Assam, India, earthquake of 1897.

No, our chimney enthusiast cannot be advised when to build again. He can, however, be told how to build safely, as a dweller in a tremor-susceptible region. In Japan, where heavy tiled roofs are supported on flimsy foundations, havoc prevails when the walls collapse. In India,

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poor housing materials and improper construction cause the destruction of homes and public buildings and consequently, many deaths. In Italy, where many buildings are built of heavy stones insecurely stuck together, collapse is only too probable.

The United States has found that brick buildings fail if the mortar and workmanship have been poor. It is wise to build on solid rather than alluvial ground which shifts easily, and to build strong foundations which are easily able to support the weight of a normally heavy roof.

Italy has chosen to meet the problem by limiting the height of all buildings to three stories. Seismic factors, the ratio which expresses the amount of horizontal force a building can stand in proportion to its weight, are used in construction in California ,Italy, Japan, Greece, Mexico and New Zealand. It has been found that chimneys must be reinforced in California and that frame buildings need diagonal bracing.

Because the damage caused by earthquakes is due mainly to building demolition, fire and the collapse of water and sewage systems, the menace may in part be met as it has been in Japan, with better building design, wide streets and many parks and open spaces to aid as refuges.

That there will be no appreciable relief from earthquakes is clearly evident in the history of the earth, first, as recorded by historians, and second, as recorded by the rocks themselves which serve as reference books for the geologists of the world.

The earliest man-recorded earthquakes in China occurred in 1831 B.C.; in Palestine, in 1606 B.C. The Colossus of Rhodes and the Phares of Alexandria, two of the seven wonders of the ancient world, were destroyed by earthquakes.

The earliest rock records of folding undoubtedly accompanied by earthquake action are found in Archeozoic rocks possibly one billion years old. Some 1257 million years ago western Europe and eastern North America experienced folding. During the Mesozoic era, a period lasting roughly 140 million years, occurring between 200 million and 60 million years ago, the lands bordering the Pacific crumpled. The intense folding found in the Alps, in the Himalayas, and in western North America has occurred fairly recently, though before the evolution of man, two million years ago.

From the time periods involved, it is easy to see that stress building forces take millions of years to create mountain ranges. And as the mountain ranges form, the swift forces of wind, water, sleet, frost and gravity tend to wear down the crumpled rock. Thus, we inherited a land which was gently rolling for the main, with only a few great mountain chains undefeated by erosion. But the lofty mountains and the slight quivers recorded by our seismographs from day to day are enough to remind us of the awful power and potential energy locked in the earth beneath our feet.

• Eve wasn't made out of Adam's rib as is generally supposed; she was made out of his funny bone.

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Economic liberalism can be preserved

Free Enterprise Lost?

By Wendell Berge

From his column in The Progressive

LIBERALISM is difficult to define and limit because it is a continuing attitude toward problems of government, rather than a fixed code of principles. But one fixed and unalterable purpose of liberals is the support of democracy, not as a mere form of government, but as an underlying philosophy with deep spiritual meaning. Thomas Mann gives us one of the working definitions as follows:

"We must define democracy as that form of government and of society which is inspired above every other with the feeling and consciousness of the dignity of man."

In 1910 Woodrow Wilson pointed out that Americans had reconstructed political society and that the liberal movement of the future would concern itself with the evils in our economic society. If we look understandingly at the liberal movement of the present, we see, as Wilson predicted, that it is concerning itself more and more with economic rights and privileges than with political rights and privileges.

Our generation is groping toward an Economic Bill of Rights that will protect people from irresponsible exercise of economic power, just as past generations worked toward the constitutional Bill of Rights which has long restrained the irresponsible exercise of political power.

We know that it is given to this generation to make momentous choices for good or ill. We must work toward lasting peace or we shall risk incredible devastation in a war fought with atomic weapons, rockets, plagues, and other instruments of mass destruction. We must discover democratic solutions to new economic and political dilemmas or we shall jeopardize the existence of democracy itself.

In this transition, the United States has a responsibility and an opportunity which are unique. On the economic level, especially, our rôle is critical. The American economy is the greatest production unit in the world. Our success in utilizing this industrial power for the attainment of our own prosperity will exercise a major influence on the health of the world economy.

Moreover, what happens in the American economy will determine the fate of economic liberalism, both in our own country and abroad. If this nation, with its tremendous economic potential, its tradition of economic freedom, its creative imagination and know-how, cannot demonstrate in peace the capacity to provide full production, full employment, and rising standards of

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living, economic liberalism as we think of it will perish.

Nearly every other major industrial nation, either because of the impact of war or because of continued inability to resolve an economic crisis, has lost faith in economic liberalism, abandoned free enterprise, and adopted some form of a managed or controlled economy. It is therefore crucial for those of us who adhere to the economics of a free society to have a clear grasp of the ends and means that are necessary to make our economy work. We must also have a distinct understanding of the conditions and trends which most seriously threaten the survival of the system of free enterprise.

There are many who feel that the die is already cast. They believe that the age of enterprise is over, that we can no longer expect enterprise to assure an expanding economic life, and that consequently we must inevitably accept the displacement of free economic institutions by the blueprints of a totally managed economic system. They point to the current perplexities of reconversion, to the disputes between labor and management, to the action of other countries and to the confusion in economic thinking, to support the contention that we are also on the way to a controlled and closely administered economy.

Unless we have irrevocably succumbed to economic fatalism, a moment's reflection will dispel any belief that the disappearance of enterprise is either inevitable or desirable. If enterprise disappears, it will do so because we have failed to overcome the trend to monopoly. If economic liberalism is permitted to fail, it will be because the American people have ceased to be vigilant in the safeguarding of their economic rights. If the economic basis of liberalism in society is undermined, we may well sacrifice the whole structure of our cherished liberties. None of this need come to pass if we are firm in our determination to eliminate those conditions in our industrial life which constitute the great barriers to our future economic growth.

It would be a grave error to underestimate the serious and formidable tasks involved. The rising power of monopoly in the American economy has acquired proportions unprecedented in our history. Unless this power of monopoly is checked, we shall be compelled either to submit to economic planning by the monopolists themselves or to exert complete political sovereignty over economic affairs. In either case, liberalism would cease to exist as the guiding philosophy of our nation.

Let us review some history. From the time this nation was established until shortly after the Civil War, it had perhaps the freest economic life of any country in the world. There was a continent to discover, towns and cities to build, industries and inventions to create and to perfect. Opportunities of every nature far exceeded the capacity of those who sought to exhaust them. But in the '70's and '80's the American people became really concerned with the growing problem of monopoly, and this national concern culminated in the passage of the Sherman Act, which we recog-

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nize today as the American charter of economic liberalism.

But notwithstanding the Sherman Act, and as a result of failure to enforce it, many fields of industry have come under the domination of powerful and concentrated groups. The needs and pressures of the first World War accelerated the growth of economic concentration, so that in 1919 it was already apparent that monopoly in its many guises had come to be America's economic problem number one.

In the following decade, the American economy ran the gamut of boom and bust. Again, because we had become tolerant of mergers, deluded by size and unalert to the significance of monopoly power, the anti-trust laws lapsed almost into disuse. Wave after wave of consolidations swept over industry. One agreement after another eliminated competition, or fixed prices or divided fields of production. It is common for us to think of the '20's as pre-eminently a period in which enterprise was unrestricted. Actually this was far from the case.

What happened was that one field after another came under domination of the industrial giants. When activity in the formation of cartels and combines had reached an all-time high, the free market had been so thoroughly weakened that it collapsed under the crushing weight of restrictions.

All of us are familiar with the sequel to this era of consolidations. The great depression had both economic and political effects. Not only were millions of people impoverished and deprived of economic hope and opportunity, but industrial expansion practically ceased. Desperate expedients were adopted both here and abroad to revive industry and to give employment. When World War II began, this country had not yet completely recovered from the effects of the depression. Nevertheless, when the American people were called upon to produce and to fight, they proved once more to the world that the genius of freedom, once it had been marshalled, was invincible.

A careful and precise study of economic concentration in World War II has recently been published by the Small Business Committee of the Senate. Its conclusions are so startling and its implications are so clear that they leave no room for surmise. The concentration of economic power in the hands of a few small vested groups is today higher than ever before in our history.

Inescapably, small business suffered a severe setback in the process of war production. As early as 1943, President Truman, as a member of the Senate Committee investigating the national defense program, pointed out that while at the beginning of the war 175,000 firms provided 70 per cent of the nation's manufacturing output, and 100 large corporations produced 30 per cent, this ratio had been completely reversed, so that 100 corporations accounted for 70 per cent of war and essential civilian contracts while 175,000 small companies had been reduced to a mere 30 per cent of the total output. More than 500,000 small business concerns disappeared during the war years.

The 250 largest corporations now

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hold roughly two-thirds of the nation's usable manufacturing facilities. These same 250 corporations either own or are in a position to control facilities equal to those of all our manufacturing corporations in 1939.

Sixty-three of the largest manufacturing corporations have sufficient liquid assets to purchase all the usable government-owned facilities, or to purchase the assets of 71,000 small corporations.

That such a development is already under way is apparent in the sharp rise in the number of mergers and acquisitions. In the last quarter of 1945, there were more mergers and acquisitions in manufacturing than at any time in the previous 15 years. This consolidation movement spells further reduction in the number of independent concerns and increasing concentration of control in major manufacturing industries.

Much the same condition holds true if we consider wartime developments in science and technology, nearly all of which promise to have peacetime applications. Because the bulk of our industrial research before the war was fenced in by cartels and monopolies, it was necessary for the government to use the means at hand when wartime research was undertaken.

As a result, 68 top corporations received two-thirds of the value of federal research and development contracts and the top 10 corporations received nearly 40 per cent of all wartime research contracts.

This means, in effect, that the few entrenched groups which dominated research before the war and carried on the great bulk of industrial research during the war now have further control and know-how. We have come to recognize that access to technology is of primary importance if small business is to have an opportunity to enter the market and to develop. Yet we must face the fact that unless some means are found to provide small business with the chance to acquire know-how or to develop new inventions, it will be almost impossible for new concerns to compete.

I referred earlier to Thomas Mann's definitions of democracy as government inspired with consciousness of the dignity of man. How can this consciousness exist if so many are dependent on so few? A statement which I read in the New York *Post* from the pen of Francis E. McMahon, crystallized this aspect of the question:

"The curse of monopoly is not primarily that it can 'rig' prices as is sees fit, or because it can regulate production for the sake of higher profits. These are but symptoms of the real cancer, which consists in depriving individuals of the economic power essential to their dignity as human beings. It is not a free but a servile state, in which the many are wholly dependent upon the few who own and control. This is hardly like the American dream."

The real question threatening the American economy is whether high levels of employment and production are to be maintained after the immediate demands are met.

It is then that the American economy either will begin genuine peacetime expansion or will begin to contract. We shall then know

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whether we are once more destined to experience the severest fluctuations of the business cycle. That point in our history will be crucial and it is not far off. Unless independent concerns can come into being, can enter the market, can gain access to the new technology, can produce without fear of monopoly retaliation, can sell products at prices that are not fixed, there will be scant hope of avoiding a severe depression.

If we are to re-establish the conditions upon which a system of free enterprise depends, if we are to look forward to expansion rather than depression, if we are to maintain and to increase opportunity for all the people, then we must begin now to undertake corrective action. In this matter time is all too short.

What can we do?

In specific terms, it will be necessary to undertake an anti-trust program of far greater proportion than is now pursued. Our present facilities are grossly inadequate as to funds and personnel, and this situation must be corrected if we really mean business. It will be necessary to give every possible aid and assistance to independent enterprise. It will be necessary to maintain constant vigilance against the attempts which will be made by powerful groups in our economy, either to exempt themselves from the operation of the anti-trust laws or to frustrate the free market by collusion.

I believe that this course of vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws and encouragement of small business is in complete accord with the desires and interest of the American people. It is a remarkable fact that in nearly every postwar program set forth by public agencies or private groups there is complete agreement on the necessity of vigorously enforcing the anti-trust laws. This recognition reflects the underlying feeling of the American public, as indicated by polls in which 85 per cent expressed support of anti-monopoly measures by government to strengthen free enterprise.

In the light of these facts, it must be said bluntly that American liberalism must now meet its most arduous test. Liberalism is not an economic dogma designed to benefit "the smallest part and least proportion of humanity," but is rather the set attitude that seeks the best interest of all the people.

The performance of the American economy during the war and our present capacity to produce and to consume warrant the belief that this country possesses a tremendous scope for future economic growth. Opportunity for individuals, for new firms, for new industries and new techniques, is the key to this development. But there will be neither growth nor opportunity unless we are able to prevent the further concentration of economic power and eliminate the grip of monopoly on enterprise. The American people have never undertaken a peacetime venture in which their fortunes and their welfare were more directly at stake. Upon the outcome will depend the fate of economic freedom, and with it the existence of liberalism in this century.

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A plea for the "good old days"

A World of Little Wrongs

From Topics of the Times

A PERSON finds himself longing for a world of little wrongs.

Until we have succeeded in building the right kind of world, in which no man does injury to his neighbor, it would be a relief to live in a world in which our mutual transgressions are comparatively minor, or at least limited, or in any event short of staggering to the imagination. In this world of little wrongs, there would be errors and misdemeanors, but every wrong would not be felony, homicide, high treason. In such a world, there would be anti-social acts, but they would stop short of being an attack on the structure of society. There would be violations of the democratic principles, but they would not constitute an organized and deliberate attempt to subvert democracy.

In this world of little wrongs, a college might boost tuition fees by 10 per cent and it might be an error of judgment or even a wrong-headed procedure, but it would not be called an act striking at the roots of democratic America. An employer might mistakenly resist demands for a wage increase, but he need not be plotting to set up a dictatorship in Washington. A citizen might exhibit a specific set of group prejudices but it does not necessarily make him a "racialist." A person might fall short of the ideal of progressivism but it does not automatically make him a Fascist.

Such a person, in our imaginary world of small or limited wrongs, might be only a timid Liberal, a middle-of-the-road man, even a conservative, a die-hard, a machine politician, a boss—he would still be an immeasurable distance away from the terrible reality of fascism.

Precisely because we are a generation which has witnessed crime and abominations that do stagger the imagination, atrocities that seem to deny our very claims to humanity, one imagines that people would gladly turn for relief to the old-fashioned comparatively moderate faults and misdemeanors with which the face of man is blackened. Precisely because we have an atomic weapon that does threaten civilization, one might hesitate to accuse a conservative school board or college faculty of threatening civilization. And on the other hand, a labor union might call a strike without deliberately planning to sap the foundation of democracy.

As things are, the morning paper is full of competitors and disputants who seem to be plotting nothing short of mutual subversion and annihiliation. Plainly it would be a relief in this suggested world

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of little wrongs to meet an old-style standpat business man who is not a Fascist, or meet a discontented Fifth Avenue bus conductor who is not a Communist in the most unfavorable meaning of the term.

Our standpat employer might actually go so far as to oppose labor unions, but he would not be a fascist, because he would not be in favor of, he might even shrink at the thought of, gas chambers for the extermination of inferior races by the millions; starvation camps where the same end was pursued more deliberately; "scientific" experiments with poisons and bacteria conducted on the living bodies of men, women and children; bulldozers employed to thrust the victims of wholesale slaughter into trench graves.

All these things are by now such familiar items in the Fascist record that it comes with something of a shock to hear a man gravely suspected of fascism, if not actually so charged, because he is opposed to the retention of O.P.A. controls. As against the Fascist record written by Hitler, one need only set the record of American anti-labor capitalism at its worst in the long decades before the first World War. We then note that tens of millions of Europe's poor people flocked to this land of opportunity. Immigrants do not voluntarily look for a better life in a climate of concentration camps and extermination chambers.

And similarly, it is hard to think of the Fifth Avenue bus conductor joining a union and even accepting strong Left Wing leadership just because he subscribes to Communist doctrine, rejects personal freedom, endorses militant atheism and firmly believes in the secret police, the concentration camp and the purge as instruments of government. The "Communist" bus conductor's case is not exactly parallel with that of the "Fascist" employer because people do often make the distinction between the motives of the rank-and-file union member and the ultimate purposes of his leaders. People, if they are not too angry, will remember to say "Communist-led" unions; but about "Fascist" employers there seem to be no such reservations.

• Learning-by-doing department:

A teacher illustrated the meaning of the word "slowly" by walking across the floor.

When she asked the class to tell how she walked, a boy in the back of the room volunteered: "Bow-legged, ma'am!"

—*Canning Trade*

• The new chaplain had planned an illustrated lecture on Bible scenes and incidents. A seaman with a "vic" was detailed to play appropriate music between pictures. The first scene represented Adam and Eve in the garden. The sailor was stumped.

"Play up!", the chaplain whispered urgently.

The sailor sweated for a few minutes longer and then gave out: "There's Only One Girl in This World For Me!"

—*Capper's Weekly*

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We have abandoned revolution in Japan

Japan: Bastion for World War III?

By Mark Gayn

From his column in The Chicago Sun

TWELVE months after her glum envoys climbed aboard the U.S.S. Missouri to sign the Instrument of Surrender, Japan has become a pawn in a world-wide game of power politics.

The Big Story from Tokyo today is the story of how Japan has become a United States bastion in the struggle between the western powers and their Russian antagonist, and how, in the process, we have junked or sharply altered the goals and methods we publicized a year ago.

Japan no longer has the air of a laboratory in which a great social experiment is being carried out. The feeling here is the feeling of a frontline outpost. Beyond Japan lies Russia, unknown, unfriendly and expanding. Should the clash come, Japan would be our first line of defense.

In the big, grey insurance building which is the nerve center of the occupation army, men of substance will tell you frankly the Big Story lies in Korea or Manchuria, not in Japan. "Go West, fellow, see what the Russians are doing." Plans are being charted for defense on the beaches of Japan. An Army officer travels up and down Japan, giving orientation talks to the G.I.'s: "It's better to train now, while you still can."

The Japanese have caught the fever. To them a war between Russia and us is the promise of recovery. Foreign office diplomats give a dinner for a group of correspondents: "Will you have enough fighters here to give us protection against Russian bombers?" At a banquet elsewhere, Japanese businessmen speak confidently of Japanese troops fighting side by side with the G.I.'s against the Red invader.

It is not for nothing that both Americans and Japanese wait impatiently for the next session of the Allied Council for Japan. The council is not a council, and it is not Allied. It is now an arena on which the conflicting interests of the two great powers are brought into the open. It would be a good show at any place. Here it is a deadly earnest show: if and when the war comes, this will be the first battlefield.

Without an awareness of this feeling, it is impossible to appraise our record in Japan; to match that which has been done against that which should—or could—have been done.

The noble blueprint for Japan—drafted at Potsdam and Washington is now as outmoded as the Bunny-Hug. It did not—and could not—survive the exigencies of power politics.

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When we landed in Japan a year ago, we brought with us a set of well-defined and handsome objectives. These committed us to back changes in the feudalistic form of government—and to keep our hands off when the Japanese people found it necessary to employ force to make such changes.

They committed us to the encouragement of a democratic economy—swept clean of the predatory family trusts; of a democratic government, free of ultra-nationalists and backed by the majority of the people; of democratic labor organizations, and of free speech, press and assembly.

For the initial six or seven months of the occupation, it looked as if we meant to carry out our avowed purpose. It mattered not that the reformist honeymoon was mainly expressed in a dozen excellent directives. After all, no reform could be carried out without a blueprint.

But as the friction with Russia mounted, reform grew tardy. Partly it was a result of skilful resistance by the men of old Japan, determined to protect what they could of the old social, political and economic fabric. But in no small measure it was also the result of our own realization that a fortress caught in a social upheaval would not be a safe fortress in a war. And besides, social strain produced the kind of soil in which Communist seeds grew well.

We began to watch with apprehension the restlessness of labor. It was all right for workers to organize into unions. But it was all wrong for them to seek political power, to pour into the streets in vast demonstrations, to seize control of industry. Labor was no longer a manageable force, and Communist organizers were making hay.

It was not enough to curb demonstrations. Since we had already been committed to working through the Japanese government, it had become necessary to create and support a firm—and conservative—government. It had also become advisable to retain some of the pillars of old Japan.

Quite openly, we had come out in support of the emperor. Less openly, we allowed the zaibatsu—the giant family concerns which for decades have dominated the Japanese economy—to retain this grip.

We had gone a step further. Although the need for continued and drastic reform was denied by no one, we eased the pressure on the government. With the world crisis spreading, it would not do to harass the government with directives.

In our desire to strengthen the government, we even gave it credit for reforms it vigorously fought. Typical of this was the land reform, in which we officially complimented the government for its foresight and boldness, although it was a reform authored by Americans and resisted by the Japanese officialdom.

And though the task was not easy, in a defeated land wracked by social conflict, we succeeded. Japan today may not be far different from Japan of 10 years ago. But it is a conservative and orderly Japan, which would resist the inroads of domestic Communism.

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A valuable system is discarded

Treaties and Senators

By Merlo Pusey

From his column in The Washington Post

SOMETHING has happened to the brave new era in treaty-making that Cordell Hull launched so hopefully a few years ago. As Secretary of State when the United States was confronted by the great issue of participation in a world organization to keep the peace, he made a practice of taking the Senate into his confidence in the shaping of foreign policy. Now that practice appears to have been dropped. Senator Elbert D. Thomas expresses fear that a new breach between the State Department and the Senate is growing.

Mr. Hull's policy stemmed, of course, from the bitter experience of the Wilson Administration after World War I. The essence of that experience was that the best conceivable treaty negotiated by our diplomatic branch is useless unless it can be ratified by the Senate. So the State Department refused to take a chance on sponsoring a new peace system that might meet with hostility in the Senate, as the League of Nations had done. It carefully laid the ground work for acceptance of an international peace plan by fully exploring the problem with groups of Senators representing the Foreign Relations Committee.

That practice paid rich dividends when the United Nations Charter came before the Senate last year. Its ratification was approved by a vote of 89 to 2. Of course, the changed attitude of the Senate cannot be attributed entirely to the more enlightened technique of the State Department. World War II had taught us a costly and impressive new lesson. But the better relations between the department and the Senate were a substantial factor in the victory, and it seems incredible that that fact should be so soon lost to sight.

Senator Thomas, who stands high on the list of Foreign Relations Committee members as well as being chairman of Military Affairs, says that he and his colleagues now have only fragmentary, second-hand reports on what is taking place at the peace conference in Paris. The Saturday seminars on the progress of world affairs are no longer held. The advisory group on peace settlements and international organization has broken up. State Department officials seldom attend Foreign Relations Committee meetings. The old barrier of misunderstanding for want of personal contact and exchange of information is beginning to rise again.

It is true that Senators Connally and Vandenberg have been active on the diplomatic firing line as advisors

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to Secretary Byrnes. That is a net gain of very decided importance. It is natural, moreover, that they should be chosen for these assignments, for Mr. Connally is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Mr. Vandenberg is its most active Republican member. But two Senators are not the Foreign Relations Committee, much less the Senate itself.

What is disturbing is the breaking of the routine, systematic contact between the committee and the State Department. That development seems especially short-sighted in a period when peace treaties that will have to come before the Senate are being negotiated. Senator Thomas has thoughtfully reminded the department that one third of the Senate plus one can still defeat a treaty. To ignore this ever-present reality in the process of formulating foreign policy is to slip back toward potential catastrophe.

The larger problem, of course, is not related to any special treaty or situation but to the general formulation of foreign policy. No sound policy can be built on fickle relationships between the units of government responsible for it. Indeed, a policy in the State Department of "cottoning" up to the Senate only when it has a treaty to put over might create more resentment than good will. The only suitable arrangement is a permanent liaison that will mean a constant flow of pertinent information from diplomatic channels to the Foreign Relations Committee. Routine consultations and discussions would also give the members of the committee a chance to keep the department informed as to trends of thinking in the legislative branch.

The process by which our foreign policy is made and put into effect is admittedly complicated and cumbersome. But that is true of many democratic methods of procedure. The means of securing urgently needed cooperation between the Department of State and the Senate have been used successfully—and then carelessly discarded.

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day;
A line of cars winds slowly o'er the lea;
A pedestrian plods his absent-minded way
And leaves the world quite unexpectedly.

—*Inside the Circle*

• Mike lay on the sidewalk in a drunken stupor. The minister came along, picked Mike up and cautioned him that he couldn't expect to drink up all the brewery could make. Mike looked at the brewery all lighted up and said: "Anyway, I got them working nights."

—*Townsend National Weekly*

• "In a partisan Republican speech everything good is said about the Republicans and everything bad about the Democrats. But in a nonpartisan Republican speech, not anything bad is said about the Republicans and nothing good about the Democrats."

—*National Canvas Goods Manufacturer's Review*

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The United States intervenes in the Straits

Dabbling in the Dardanelles

By Melvin K. Whiteleather

From his column in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

THE chief new factor in the question of the Straits is the United States.

And this symbolizes the new world balance of power as the war that Hitler would have liked to have won, has left it.

Since Peter the Great in the Eighteenth Century, Russia has sparred with various combinations of European nations over the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. Now Russia finds opposing her a country so far removed from the Straits that to Russians it seems fantastic.

It probably isn't emphasized in the Russia of today, but it was the Bolshevik revolution that prevented Russia from getting possession of the Straits after almost two centuries of effort. Constantinople, now Istanbul, was promised to Russia in 1915 and with the city would go the eastern end of the Straits and, by implication, the western end, too.

The Great Peter organized a Black Sea fleet and stirred up interest in the necessity for the country to try to outsmart nature which had willed that, although the land was vast almost beyond measure, and although it sprawled over a large part of the globe, it did not have year 'round ports commensurate with the inherent capacity of the country.

From his time on, the weight of the country was thrown southward. Industry and mining were coached along in the Black Sea area and so was agriculture. The Black Sea promised usable ports and today, two of the Soviet Union's three major ports with outlets to the world, are on the Black Sea.

Russian interest in the Straits therefore was natural from an economic viewpoint. It was equally vital from the viewpoint of a great power trying to assert itself in the world. Beyond these, the city of Constantinople, lodged at the inner entrance to the Bosporus, had religious significance. Here was the mother church of the Eastern Orthodox faith and the Russians wanted that shrine.

But in the great game of power politics, it was to the interest of Britain and of France to keep the fleets of the Czars bottled up in the Black Sea. They did not want a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, and they were successful in keeping it out right up to the first World War. They were joined in this by Austria, and, of course, the Ottoman Empire did not want to yield its territory to Russia.

In 1841, a Convention was drawn up which closed the Straits to warships. But the Russian Black Sea fleet continued to grow and this was one of the principle factors in

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the Crimean War. The Russians were pressing the Turks and a definite drive was on to get Constantinople. Britain and France went into the war to destroy, if they could, the Black Sea fleet and thus reduce the pressure on Turkey. The war was won at great cost, but the Russian fleet was destroyed and the Black Sea was neutralized by the Treaty of Paris of 1856.

While all this was going on, a new power was rising on the Continent by the name of Prussia, and under Bismarck's direction, it was soon to upset matters. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the French were enfeebled and the Austrians were scared into entrenching, so that Russia was able to take advantage and unilaterally throw off the neutralization restrictions.

The Black Sea fleet came into being again and arsenals were reconstructed, but the Straits remained closed. Repeated efforts on the part of Russia to get the British to change their views met with statements that any attempt to force the Straits would be regarded as cause for war.

But by 1915, the Prussia of 1870 had become a strong united German Empire and it was at war again with France and Britain. Britain for the first time was forced to turn over to the next page. It was no longer a question of whether Russia or Turkey should command the Straits; it was a question of whether Russia or Germany would control them. And the British chose the Russians.

That historical decision was upset, however, by the Bolshevik Revolution, and to add a touch of irony, the Bolsheviks then wanted the Straits closed and the British wanted them open—so that British warships could get into the Black Sea to fight the Reds.

World War I, by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1920, took the administration out of Turkish hands and put it under an international commission. Forts were dismantled and completely free navigation was decreed for 16 years. Here again a new factor came in. The Ottoman Empire had crumbled, but a new Turkey arose that asserted its rights and the upshot was that Turkey actually dominated the International Commission, and then in 1936 argued the British and French into abolishing the Commission and turning the control back to Turkey. But the gates to the Black Sea were left open to warships of Black Sea powers at all times, while those of other countries were denied passage unless acting under a League of Nations order.

That is what the Russians now want to revise, but the only thing they want to change is that Black Sea Powers should decide what should be done and that Russia should be permitted to help Turkey defend the Straits.

Britain and France, weaker than at any time since Peter the Great, are unable to go it alone. They no longer deny that Russian warships should come out of the Black Sea at will. The emphasis has changed somewhat, but the traditional reluctance to see Russia get hold of Constantinople, has not altered. And Britain and France are backed up by the United States.

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The pessimist sees the doughnut

In Praise of Pessimism

By Howard Vincent O'Brien

From his column in The Chicago Daily News

IF you are willing to take some gristle with your gravy and can look upon the darker side of things without having the staggers, consider the following:

"Without qualities of an unsocial kind . . . men might have led an Arcadian shepherd life in complete harmony, contentment and mutual love; but in that case all their talents would have forever remained hidden in their germ. Thanks be, then, to nature for this unsociableness, for this envious jealousy and vanity, for this insatiable desire for possession and for power."

This paean in praise of pessimism was written a long time ago by a man named Immanuel Kant.

It will shock and displease those featherheaded sentimentalists who cannot be dislodged from their conviction that this is the best of all possible worlds.

Theirs is a sick society; and the surest symptom of its sickness is its reluctance to face unpleasant facts. To be popular, one must be a Pollyanna. Unthanked is the bearer of bad tidings, and the prophet of disaster is not wanted around.

Optimism is ordained; and one must chirrup cheerily that all is for the best when it is difficult even to imagine it being much worse.

The commentator, though himself steeped in gloom and seeing naught but chaos ahead, is required by custom to lift up the faces of the downcast. Woe to him if he tells what he really sees in his crystal ball. The truth is gall and wormwood to palates surfeited with soothing sirup.

We have subsisted so long on a creampuff diet that we shudder when asked to bite into a stout chunk of raw pessimism. We gag at the very thought. Yet I find that when one has become accustomed to its strong flavor and somewhat gritty structure, one no longer has any taste for the flabby gelatin of optimism.

The pessimist grows a sturdy soul. He becomes immune to the infection of fear. Expecting the worst, he is not surprised when it comes and is delighted with anything less.

It is the optimists who are hardest to live with. Dwelling constantly in a dreadful future, they are incapable of enjoying the present. Your thorough-going optimist is a miserable chap. He wails. He wrings his hands. He wears his teeth down in futile gnashing.

Not for him the placid resignation of the pessimist. Unable to master destiny, he knows not the solace of being mastered by it.

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FORUM: NATIONAL SOVERE

YES!

By Joseph C. Williams

THAT the national sovereign state is outmoded, out of keeping with the times, is the thesis of this argument. In much the same sense that the sun dial, in the age of electric timepieces, is anachronistic, the independent sovereign state is a logical absurdity in the era of the atomic bomb and world economic interdependence. Or so it seems to me.

That the concept of sovereignty is basic to international law as we know it cannot be denied. A cursory study of the development of this idea, however, reveals that "sovereignty" as a basic concept was an *ex post facto* attempt by political theorists to justify historic political developments. It can be argued, I think, that political theory usually follows events, that the logically consistent theory of sovereignty followed the establishment of sovereign states, as the theory of divine right followed the establishment of autocratic monarchs. And, following this argument, it may be assumed that even as Louis XIV of France or James II of England did not recognize that the "divine right" theory was outdated, so the "sovereign national state" refuses to read its doom in the handwriting on the wall today.

I am aware, as I open this debate, that peculiar pitfalls await the political theorist; that I might, in logical argument, prove that *by definition* the *concept* of sovereignty is an anachronism, without in any sense proving that *ipso facto* the sovereign national state is anachronistic. Or I might fall, as many a philosopher has fallen, into the error of confusing what is with what should be, and thus allow my opponent to crush me on the spot with a down-to-earth reading of *The New York Times.*

CONCEPT OUTDATED

For purposes of argument, however, I shall maintain that political theory usually affords *belated recognition* to facts as they are, that it is high time political philosophers recognized that the concept of sovereignty is an outmoded basis for international relations, (as the lawyers do at Nuremberg and the diplomats at Paris).

Let us first of all inquire into the origin of the concept itself, despite the dread charge of oversimplification. Sovereignty was originally a papal doctrine, an expression of the complete universal authority of the Pope. The *Plenitudo Potestatis* of Gregory II and Innocent III was, in substance, a claim for universal sovereignty over both spiritual and temporal matters by *divine right.* The decline of Papal power was reflected in the philosophical return to Roman law, as the theorists added their verbal support to the

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WORLD STATE AN ANACHRONISM

NO!

By Morley G. Dilke

MY opponent says that sovereignty rests ultimately on force and that, ultimately, there can be only one sovereign state. He further seems to hope that such a state will grow out of the United Nations, rather than out of a third world war. He cites numerous authorities to bolster his position that ultimately sovereignty rests on force.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

But he does not cite Thomas Jefferson, the American who was most concerned with sovereignty in its relation to the individual. In the Declaration of Independence Jefferson said:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, *deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.* That when ever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, . . .
>
> . . . But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

My opponent would, I believe, agree that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. He would, I think, hold that a world state based on force, with no securities for the rights of its individual citizens, would be undesirable. We saw Nazi Germany attempting to found such a state in Europe and were sure that if successful the effect would be carried further. Ultimately we fought to prevent such a state.

Presumably his world state would have to be based on a Bill of Rights as concrete as the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution, not on such a war-time compromise as the "Four Freedoms" which can mean almost anything. These rights are freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from search and seizure without a warrant, trial by jury, freedom from excessive bail, and the provision that powers not delegated to the government are reserved to the people.

My opponent would not, I think, claim that the governments of the world would all agree to a world constitution based on these concepts. There are, he says, probably two and, at the most, six sovereign states in the world. He seems to think that the world would be better off if there were only one.

The six sovereign states include the United States, England and Russia. Probably any citizen of America would agree that the world would be better

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kings in their struggle to wrest secular authority from the Church. The 75-year residence of the Popes at Avignon did nothing to enhance declining papal prestige.

At the same time (fifteenth century) economic change began to undermine medieval feudal institutions and the theories that bolstered them. Better communications altered the formerly local political and economic organizations. The greatest profits were available to the merchant adventurer, beyond the control of guilds and cities.

GROWTH OF MONARCHIES

Encouragement and control of trade became more and more a function of the royal, "central" governments; merchant interests consequently sided with the monarchs against anarchistic feudal elements. By the early sixteenth century, absolute monarchy was rapidly becoming the prevailing form of government, and Machiavelli was able to make a logical and creditable case for his thesis that the state was above law and morality. As the rise of the Italian despots occasioned Machiavelli's work, so the civil wars in France crystallized the theory of the "divine right" of kings and occasioned Bodin's formulation of a clear concept of "sovereignty." Bodin wrote to strengthen the position of the king, taking the theory of sovereignty and divine right from theology. Published four years after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, the secondary purpose of *Six Livres de la République* (1576) was the advocacy of religious toleration as a practical necessity in war-torn France.

BODIN

According to Bodin, the distinguishing mark of a state is the presence of a sovereign power, in contrast to the limited power of family groups, cities and so forth. Citizenship he defined as *subjection to a sovereign,* and sovereignty as "supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law." He conceived sovereignty as perpetual, inalienable and indivisible; its primary attribute, the power "to give laws to citizens collectively or severally, without the consent of a superior, an equal or an inferior." All other authority, as, for example, the power to declare war and collect taxes, derives from sovereignty.

Bodin himself never made it clear whether he believed sovereignty to be necessary to, or only desirable for, a state.

Ironically enough, this fundamental theory, admirably suited to the absolutism of the French royal dynasty, was steadfastly supported through the years by the most ardent internationalist democrats. In the domestic sphere, Bodin's "sovereignty" was soon altered beyond recognition. As belief in the power of the common people grew, the theory of the social contract was evolved. Although die-hards like Hobbes asserted that the people had surrendered sovereignty forever to their rulers in a theoretical social contract, Rosseau's more democratic concept was gradually accepted: sovereignty was held to rest forever in the people as a corporate body. Even

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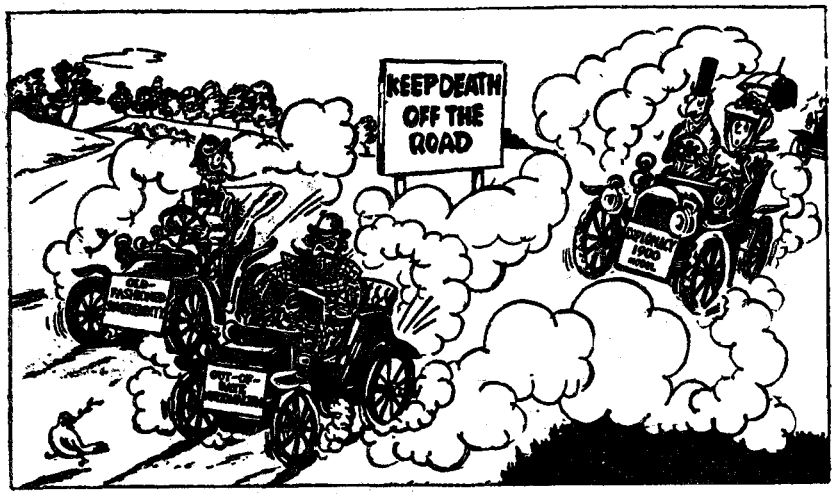

"IS THIS THE ROAD TO PEACE?"
Vicky in the London Daily News Chronicle, reprinted from The New York Times

modern dictators such as Hitler paid lip service to this doctrine; Hitler's sovereign *Volk* and Stalin's *proletariat* are the sources of sovereignty.

Internationally, the theory of sovereignty has become much more important and more dangerous. In Grotius' codification of international law, sovereignty became the cornerstone. Defining sovereignty as "a power not subject to the legal control of another", Grotius conceived international law as regulating the relations between sovereign states. When Hegel re-formulated the concept in the nineteenth century, he declared: "With regard to the relations of states among themselves, their sovereignty is the basic principle; they are in that respect in the state of nature in relation to one another, and their rights are not realized in a general rule, which is so constituted as to have power over them, but their rights are realized only through their particular wills." There is already apparent a significant difference between Hegel and Grotius—the natural law that Grotius believed universal and superior even to sovereign states has been dismissed by Hegel as a "general rule" which has no power over sovereign states. Only international anarchy could develop from Hegel's thesis—two world wars are proof enough.

A strong contributing factor to international chaos was the growth of nationalism in conjunction with the sovereign state. When people became "nation conscious", each separate nation aimed for complete independence. As Frederick Schuman has pointed out: "The most obvious consequence has been the fragmentation of the world into a large number of sovereign nation-states in the name of national self-determination and independence."

Well-meaning democrats and not-so-well-meaning nationalists alike furthered the concept of the sovereign *national* state. Democrats, believing

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that sovereignty rests with the people, developed the concept of self-determination, nowhere more strongly expressed perhaps than in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. In an address to Congress, February, 1918, Wilson declared:

"Peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in the game. Peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is no a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

Wilson's principle of self-determination was applied only where expediency dictated its application, and was forgotten unless the victor nations stood to gain. In all cases, sovereign states defending the *status quo* re-arranged the boundaries of Europe: there is no law, according to the "sovereign" states, which can oblige them to relinquish any portion of territory they presently enjoy. Sovereignty, it became plain, is the mainstay of those who are satisfied with the *status quo* at any given moment in history. Where Wilson's theory was applied, it created more fragment sovereign nation-states in Europe, complicating, not simplifying the problem. And Wilson's error became apparent: whole peoples may be dominated and governed without their consent, *whether or not* they are "sovereign" in name, so long as large nations have more strength than small ones. Sovereignty is not a magic password to independence, although the Indians, the Filipinos and the Arabs, may think so.

"Hold on," my opponent may say, "you have given us a pretty little picture of the development of the concept of sovereignty, but what of that? All right, the concept was developed to defend absolute monarchy. It doesn't protect a small state or a nationality from abuse. Does that make it obsolete?"

NO SOVEREIGN POWER

My answer is "yes." In a world where any state, indeed any group, may manufacture atomic power, or develop microbe warfare, *there is no state* which is completely independent of all other states, no state which in the last analysis can retain a position superior to some sort of international organization and international law.

When the United States, Great Britain and the U. S. S. R. argue over affairs in Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, they afford tacit recognition to the fact that no small state is today "sovereign." When the United States, Great Britain and the U. S. S. R. consent to participate in the U. N., to become members of the world court, they abrogate to a significant degree their own sovereignty.

As Clarence Streit has so pointedly recalled, until the American states abandoned their sovereignty, the United States could not become a strong, peaceable country. And, as he maintains, the nations of the world cannot join in a peaceable world organization unless and until they, too, abandon this obsolete concept.

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"Now, now," I can hear my opponent mutter. "Even if I were to grant that the *concept* of sovereignty is obselete, I am by no means convinced that the actuality—the sovereign national state—is an anachronism."

As the atomic age develops, as the economic interdependence of every nation upon every other nation becomes more apparent, the sovereign states of the world are decreasing in number. The modern insistence on sovereignty, actually, is an attempt to maintain the *status quo* by refusing to recognize reality. In all the world today, there are not more than three or four, or at the most, six, states that are "sovereign" in the true sense of the term. (I can only think of three). And even the sovereign states occupy themselves, in Nuremberg and in Tokyo, with formulations of international law that would presumably bind them as well as the vanquished nations.

TRENDS

In conclusion, I maintain that the question is not at all what *should* happen but what has and will happen: history, not ethics. There is no doubt that today most of the sovereign states of the world have disappeared. I submit that this trend will develop in one of two directions. Modern "sovereign" states, in order to survive in any form, may surrender their absolute sovereignty to some sort of federal union. Or war may resolve the conflict so that the remaining "sovereign" state will be a world state, in an international community where sovereignty will have no more meaning than it did in the hey-day of the Roman Empire.

For the concept of sovereignty implies more than one sovereign; the concept was developed to fit and to justify an anarchistic international scene. And, one way or another, international anarchy will very presently be resolved.

(Continued from page 337)

off if there was only one sovereign nation and that was the United States. But he would not agree that the world would be better off if there was only one sovereign state—Britain—or Russia. This in all probability would be true of most of the citizens of Russia and of Britain, too.

They could conceive of a world state based upon their own state but not of a world state based upon one of the other great powers. Obviously this feeling is not confined to the citizens of the great powers. The people of India do not think that the sovereign national state is obsolete. They are not proposing that India and the rest of the British Empire become part of "one world."

They are not even agreed that India should be one state. The Moslem League wants Pakistan: in effect, a Moslem state separate from Hindu India.

The Jews are not agreed on Zionism. But some, at least, of the Jews who favor a Jewish National homeland are willing to see an Arab state and a Jewish state within Palestine.

My opponent is not consciously arguing for a *Pax Americana* on the theory that where Hitler could not control Europe with a machine gun, we

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might control the world with an atom bomb—but, if he sees government resting on force, this seems to be the eventual outcome of his argument. (Always, of course, assuming that someone else does not evolve a better weapon.)

On the other hand, he can hardly be arguing for a world state based on the consent of the governed. In any real sense, no one is for that at the moment. As he points out, there is such a thing as economic interdependence in the world today.

ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE

Economic interdependence has two sides. Before World War II, Britain traded with the Argentine. In general, Britain, traded finished products for raw materials (textiles for meat). Germany traded with Brazil. The United States traded with Canada, Europe and the Orient.

But at no time did the United States follow Adam Smith's classic formula—buy where goods are cheap and sell where they are dear. Germany never followed it. Britain prior to the Ottawa Agreements (1931) came closer to following it than any other nation: but Britain today is wedded to Imperial Preference modified by terms of the recent United States loan to Britain.

UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION

The people of California would not like to see unrestricted immigration because they fear the lower living standards of the people of India, China and Japan. So do the people of Canada and Australia.

The United States, Canada and Australia would not voluntarily submit to unrestricted immigration. In a world state based on one man, one vote, they could not prevent it. Such a state would make a hash of the American tariffs and of all the industries protected by it and of all the feather bedding that has grown up in those industries, too.

My opponent wants to limit the choice of the world to one sovereign state or to anarchy. This is not the real choice. He concedes that there may be three, or, at most, six sovereign states and believes that the world would be better off with one sovereign state. He assumes this state will rest on the consent of the governed. I do not believe that the areas of agreement are great enough for this to be possible.

Neither do I believe that it is desirable for all men to think alike. It would, I think, be better for the world if we had not one but 54 or more sovereign states. (The 51 United Nations, the three major defeated powers, such non-existent states as might come into existence in India or Africa.)

The tendency in the world has been not only to fewer and bigger states. It has also been to bigger and better wars. My opponent seems to think that the bigger the organization—the better. This does not seem to me to be so. There are in the Pan American Union 21 nations. The United States might think that the Western Hemisphere would be an altogether superior place if there were one nation dominated from Washington.

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I am saying that areas of disagreement are large, real and valuable. In the United States, we have gone in for bigger business on the assumption that bigger business is better. We have gone in for consolidated schools on the assumption that the large school is necessarily better than the small school. We have gone in for a two party political system on the assumption that, at most, two parties are enough.

Up to a point, there is some truth in all of these assumptions—but anyone who has had to deal with education knows that schools and universities as well as classes can be too big. Any one who has had to deal with the army knows that bigness is not the sure criterion of efficiency. Any one who has had to deal with big corporations knows that, like the army, they can become entangled in red tape. Any political theorist knows that the Democrats and the Republicans have been accused of being Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

It is true that the world owes much to organization—but it is also true that it owes even more to dissent. In all fields, new ideas always meet with the opposition of entrenched ideas. Organizations always tend to develop a bureaucracy which in turn loses sight of the purposes of the organization in its efforts to conform to the accepted practices of the organization. In this sense, a case can be made for the smaller the organization the better for all its members. This was the basic idea behind Jefferson's "*the best* governments govern least."

In this sense, the least desirable outcome, not only for the people who now are *dispossessed,* but, in the long run for all peoples, would be a really powerful world state.

To sum up, we cannot have a single sovereign state based on the consent of the governed. Neither can we have one based on force now because no one state is that strong. In the long run, the greater the number of nearly sovereign states, the less the likelihood of one state becoming dominant, and this, it seems to me, makes the sovereign national state anything but anachronistic.

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The joys of organ pumping

Hymns and the Handle

By Merwyn L. Aultman

From his column in the Providence Evening Bulletin

FROM the loft where I pumped the organ for 10 cents an hour, with Chopin's Funeral March thrown in occasionally for good measure, I could stand on a box and look through the carved oak fretwork at the congregation singing. The drama was so fascinating that on big-wind hymns like "Ein' Feste Burg," "Faith of Our Fathers," and "The Long Meter Doxology" the wind gauge sometimes hit bottom. It was four long strides from the handle to the soap box and a full bellows wouldn't last more than half a stanza. Some Sundays I subsidized a pumper so that I could watch the show unmolested.

You can't beat hymns for singing. They've got everything. And we threw ourselves into them for dear life. I say "we" for I joined in lustily at the handle—sang and pumped with such rhythmic, thumping abandon that I frequently got the warning signal from out front. The bellows and I were shaking the choir loft.

"Now then," my father would say (he was the preacher), "let the men take the third stanza all alone." We never left out a single stanza if we could help it. So between 300 and 400 men would gird up their loins and march 50 abreast into "Ein' Feste Burg." I tell you that was something! The organ practically pumped itself then. I'd get goose flesh, pumping like a house-afire and singing at the top of my voice. Sometimes, I don't mind telling you, my nose ran with misdirected tears, the effect was so overpowering.

One Sunday morning my father heard a high, thin soprano piercing the mighty din and lifted his hands as a sign for the congregation to ease off a bit, so I had the whole thing to myself in a shrill obligato without knowing it. But I soon found out. Brother Thompson, who got carried away pretty easily and for that reason, I suppose, always slipped his teeth into his Sunday handkerchief before launching into a hymn, shouted, "Glory to God!" at the end. There was a pleasant murmur, more amused than "wind through a wheat field," and I realized suddenly just what had happened. It pleased me immensely until one of my contemporaries told me I sounded exactly like old Archibald Kinkaid, who'd got a Rebel bullet through his Adam's apple at the battle of Pittsburg Landing and sounded like a lost sheep.

He was anything but a lost sheep, though—the first one on his feet for the hymns and rarin' to go. He and Sarah, his wife, sat at about the same level shoulder to shoulder, but

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when they riz up, old Arch towered over her like a crane. Along about the third stanza, they'd get into a tug-o'-war over the hymn book, Arch hauling it up where he could see better, which brought it a little above Sarah's eyes, and Sarah yanking it down about to Arch's waist. The grim struggle didn't seem to dampen their ardor a bit though it forced them to sing on the bias most of the time. They were one of the big features which I pointed out to the visiting pumpers.

Commodore Cluett was another, though nobody really had to point him out. The Commodore stepped out from his third row aisle seat and led the singing with his long, black, gold-handled cane. He was drama from start to finish, for, in addition to his way with the stick and his magnificent tenor voice, he had two silver knee caps (got in a railroad accident) and he marched to his place up front behind the low railing without bending his knees. There was always the delightful possibility of the Commodore's putting too much into his work and pitching forward over the railing. But I waited in vain for this to happen.

I waited in vain for a lot of things to happen. Mrs. Rhoda Kingsley's bun, for example. She wore a little black bonnet astride it and she wagged her head sidewise like an indignant metronome, but the black bonnet held, and though the bun weakened visibly it invariably rode out the long doxology.

I waited for Brother Darby, the bellowing baritone, who held every stanza a little too long, to fall in the aisle with a stroke; for Dr. Elihu Emerson's turtle-shaped head to disappear into his high collar, and for an angel to float down a shaft of colored sunlight right through the stained glass window and light on Mary Mansard's golden head . . .

But that's enough about Mary. She was all of 19 and I was nearly 10, a tragic disparity across which I yearned through the oaken fretwork. Nothing came of it. Nothing but music, sometimes from individuals who hadn't the slightest idea of the fun they were providing the organ pumper, sometimes from the indistinguishable throng, which fairly bowled the susceptible organ pumper off his soap box and sent him groping for the handle.

I can close my eyes now and hear those voices, the big organ, the Commodore, my father. And when they swing into Easter hymns or Christmas hymns or "Ein' Feste Burg," I'm back at the handle, pumping and singing for dear life.

• "What we really are seeking is an equality of dissatisfaction"—George Bidault, commenting on the Big Four conference in Paris.

• Oscar Levant found he needed a haircut while he was on a tour. He went into a barber shop, handed the barber a 50 cent piece and climbed into the chair.

"Why thank you, sir", the astonished barber said. "This is the first time I've been tipped in advance."

"That's not a tip", Levant snapped, "it's hush money."

—*Capper's Weekly*

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OUR ROSTRUM

FORUM announces the return of OUR ROSTRUM—a popular sounding board of reader opinion. It is your platform. You are invited to submit letters on any of the issues or articles published in FORUM. The best letters will be printed in this column each month. As in the past, the editor must reserve the right to publish letters in part only because of space limitations.

PALESTINE

To the Editor:—

I read the arguments, pro and con, by Marie Syrkin and Khalil Totah on "Should Palestine Become the Jewish Homeland" in the June FORUM with a good deal of interest. I was left with considerable doubt as to whether Palestine was the solution of the European Jewish problem. In the first place, I question whether Palestine could support, in addition to its present population, anything like the million odd Jews who would like to leave Europe. Moreover, it seems to me that the establishment of such a Jewish Homeland, which would almost inevitably strive to become a Jewish national state, would have to rest in the end upon the armed support of Britain and the United States because of the hostility of the Arab world. And I very much doubt whether the people of the United States would be willing to see their government embark on such a program. Nor, I suspect, would the British without such American support.

As the number of Jews in Europe seeking refuge does not appear to constitute a numerically insurmountable obstacle, a solution of the immediate problem could well be in offering them a haven within the states of the western hemisphere and in the colonies and dominions of the British Empire. Such a distribution worked out in proportion to the population of the countries involved could hardly be a serious burden for any one country.

Fundamentally, what the Jew needs, for Palestine in any case could scarcely become the Homeland of all the Jewish people in the West, is a more tolerant world; a world which would recognize and respect the rights of its racial and religious minorities. Such a world, the West, with its Christian and liberal traditions, is under peculiar obligations to foster by every means within its power. If it should fail, the lot of the Jew, as well as of other such minorities, will be an unhappy one, particularly in those times of national strain and stress when the ignorant and thoughtless clamor for a scapegoat.

W. R. WATERMAN.
Hanover, N. H.

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GISSING

To the Editor:—

I am engaged on research into the life of George Gissing, and before finally completing my book, would like to appeal to your readers for permission to see any letters of Gissing's, or copies thereof, and perhaps use them.

Gissing spent some time in America, and it is possible that letters from him may still be in existence. If, therefore, any reader of your journal has such letters, I would much appreciate it if he would get in touch with me as soon as possible.

JAMES PATERSON.
c/o Miss Clayson,
60, New Oxford Street,
London, W. C. I.

GERMANY: EAST OR WEST?

To the Editor:—

In "Germany: East or West," Wolfgang von Eckardt accuses the authorities in the Western Zone of lack of distinction between Nazis and anti-Nazis, but he apparently sees no inconsistency when he admits that the German Communist Party in the Russian Zone, "openly welcomes small fry Nazis" and . . . "Hitler youth," while some Nazis rejected by our A.M.G. have been especially well received in the Eastern Zone where "German *anti*-Nazis (are) very much in the fore."

Mr. von Eckardt also states that German disillusionment in our occupation policy has resulted in a steadily growing dislike of Americans. Although there are probably few among us who will be broken up by this information or who aspire to great popularity with the Germans, those few can be consoled by a later statement of the author's that "vast numbers" of refugees are crossing from the Eastern to the Western Zone.

Perhaps the Russian system of allowing Germans a free choice between merging with the Communists and life (or death) in one of the re-opened concentration camps is proving even less popular than American occupation procedure.

DOROTHY HESELTINE.
South Portland, Maine.

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China

Should we abandon China? Invite Russia in? Let the United Nations settle the dispute?

OUR MEDDLING IN CHINA

While Madame Sun Yat-sen calls for a coalition government of China and the ultimate transition from one-party tutelage to democracy, which her great husband envisioned, United States ships and armaments and planes and United States Marines are making any such happy outcome virtually impossible.

Our men and our materiel are taking part in a Chinese civil war. They are lined up with German Nazis, native Chinese Fascists, reactionaries who are determined that the people shall never rule.

It is not the Kuomintang party as a whole that our policy in China is supporting. Because our policy gives the governing clique the armed force to continue in power without any concessions to democracy, it supports the far-right wing of Kuomintang, which according to Tseng Chao-lun, one of the leaders of the Chinese Democratic League, persecutes the Kuomintang left wing even more than it does other political parties.

To fight for the totalitarian rightists of the Kuomintang, United States destroyer escorts and mine sweepers, part of a navy given to the Nationalist government by the United States government, strip for battle on the Yangtze.

United States Mustangs, Lightnings, Thunderbolts and Mitchell bombers fly from Nanking, bombing and strafing Chinese Communist troops, which have neither air nor ground defense against them. United States Marines, 20,000 of them, guard rail lines over which Nationalist troops and supplies go to fight the Communists, or train Nationalist sailors, or hold the big Yellow Sea base on the Shantung peninsula at Tsingtao. Nationalist troops fight on the front lines—conveyed there by United States ships and planes manned by United States sailors and airmen.

Let us heed the words of Madame Sun, whose love of her country made her break with her family, the Soongs, for their support of the Kuomintang:

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> The American people must be clearly told of this road to disaster. They must be told that the presence of United States armed forces on Chinese soil is not strengthening peace and order among the Chinese people. They must be warned that loans should be given only to a reorganized and truly representative Government.

United States troops have been kept in China too long, and too unjustifiably, as it is. They should be withdrawn, without further procrastination or excuses. United States ships, planes and armaments given or lend-leased to China have been perverted to war against China's own people. They should be withdrawn if withdrawal is possible, and certainly no more should be given or lend-leased.

Let us adopt, finally, a policy that will encourage moderation. The best beginning would be to terminate our armed intervention in the Chinese civil war by withdrawing the last United States marine from China.

—*The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

GENERAL CHIANG IS DRINKING THE BITTER TEA OF YALTA

It was at the Big Three meeting at Yalta in February, 1945, that today's chaos in China was made.

Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin were there. Chiang was not.

But it was by a secret agreement at Yalta—as we learned a year later—that Russia was let into Manchuria, and China lost the great industrial empire that could have made her strong today.

At Yalta, it was agreed that in matters relating to China, Roosevelt "will take measures in order to obtain this (China's) concurrence on advice of Premier Stalin."

This led to the Russian-Chinese treaty of August a year ago.

By that treaty Russia agreed to withdraw her troops by last December 3. They didn't leave then. The Chinese Communists weren't ready to take over.

When the Russian troops finally left, more than five months later, Chinese Reds were in control of three-fourths of Manchuria.

The United States and Britain agreed to let the Russians in. We've done almost nothing to get Russia's Chinese puppets out.

By Yalta and the later treaty, Russia got back the Czar's conquests in Manchuria. Russia was allowed to hold, under her auspices, a plebiscite in China's one-time province of Outer Mongolia. The Russian-sponsored plebescite showed a 100 per cent

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vote for independence from China, and Russia is now backing Outer Mongolia for United Nations membership.

By the Yalta agreements and the later treaty, Russia gained a half-interest in the South Manchuria and Chinese Eastern railways. When Japan conquered Manchuria, the Russians made a deal with Japan and sold out their interests.

It was agreed at Yalta that Dairen should be "internationalized." The later treaty said administration should be "exercised by China."

How is it now in Dairen?

Our State Department recently said that we have asked *Moscow* to permit the American consul to communicate more freely with Washington.

We must not fool ourselves about the Chinese Communists. We are told by United States "Commies" and fellow travelers that they are only "agrarians" in the Jefferson tradition. A recent dispatch told of the Communist authorities in Honan province ordering the people to keep their doors unlocked at night *to facilitate the entry of search parties.*

That's right in the Soviet G.P.U.-N.K.V.D.-M.G.B. tradition.

We must remind Russia that it was the Big Three pressure at Yalta that brought China to its present state and explain why we back Chiang. If we are firm, Russia will understand.

We helped put Chiang in the spot he's in. We can't desert him now.

—*The Philadelphia Record*

BROKEN CHINA

It is often said that civil war is the politics of republican China. That may be true enough, but China, as President Roosevelt well knew, is the weakest spot in the general peace structure. With the country plunged into domestic conflict, there would be a fishing invitation to Moscow, so that the threat to world peace would be immediate and ominous.

General Marshall is well aware of this danger. We feel sure he will not quit the task given him by the President till he is absolutely convinced that his presence in China amounts to intervention rather than mediation. *Izvestia* charges that this stage has now been reached. In a recent issue, it says that the United States is affording "active cooperation to one side." Nobody knows better than the Russians that General Marshall has been the very personification of impartiality. Never for a moment has he lost sight of the goal of unification and, when he

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came back here six months ago, he recommended all kinds of measures to help the Communists as well as the Kuomintang. The idea in his mind was that such aid might help to persuade the Communists to agree to incorporation in a common military establishment. What is most discouraging about the Russian comment is the way it ignores the fact that the job of working through the Nanking government for unification is a Russian as well as an American responsibility. The commitment is contained in the Sino-Soviet pact of August, 1945.

Perhaps, conditions have changed since the Sino-Soviet pact was signed. Very well; let Moscow and Washington get together on a new arrangement. Better still, let Moscow be asked to join with our Government in a demand upon Chiang Kai-shek to take new steps in the prevention of conflict. For instance, he has not yet declared the end of the stage of tutelage which was one of Sun Yat-sen's stages on the road to a representative system. Nor has he yet named delegates to the national state council which was to be set up under cover of the Kuomintang-Communist truce. A joint demarche on these matters might yet hold China back from the brink of an official civil war that only the extremist party men of China's 400 millions want. Such a demarche would encourage the peacemakers. If nothing like this can halt civil war, then the reason for posting 25,000 Marines in North China will disappear, though the withdrawal should not be permitted till a joint policy has been attained with Russia pledging nonintervention. A vacuum in China must not be allowed to create a vacuum in policy toward China.

—*The Washington Post*

IT'S A CASE FOR THE U. N.

It is now plain that full-scale civil war in China, to prevent which heroic efforts have been made by the United States and other powers for a long time, is an imminent danger.

The Communists have ordered mobilization of 10,000,000 men and direct attack on Chiang's forces. In the event of open, general conflict, it is inconceivable that the warfare would be limited to Chinese factions alone. Possibility of the involvement of Soviet Russia and of other powers would persist.

If China's tragic case is not one for the United Nations to attempt to settle, what is the United Nations' purpose? It is the task of the United Nations' Security Council to deal with outright threats to world peace. If China's civil war should break with full force, would it not threaten world peace? Of course it would.

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Proposal to the Security Council to enforce peace in China probably would invite a veto by Soviet Russia, if not by the Chinese government. Even so, threat of a veto should not be permitted to stand in the way of a concerted effort by the United Nations to prevent a war which might set all Asia on fire.

—*The Philadelphia Inquirer*

REAL AID FOR CHINA

The shadowy civil war in China continues, tilting the scales first one way, with the Communist capture of Tatung, and then the other, with the seizure of Chengteh by government troops. Nothing is decisive. But within this same period an international transaction was concluded which should go a long way toward speeding up and expanding Chinese economic recovery. The Central government at Nanking has agreed to buy from the United States a million and a half tons of our surplus supplies stockpiled in various Pacific areas.

This is not lend-lease aid but an outright purchase. The original cost of the material was something like $800,000,000. In a China stripped bare of industrial equipment, it should be worth even more today. It includes trucks, ships, road-building machines, steel and electrical goods, motors, railway equipment and prefabricated houses. China gets it for about a fifth of its original value by making certain money payments and canceling the American debt incurred there by us during the war. Our agent in the deal, Thomas McCabe, calls the agreement "quite fair and reasonable," and, indeed, the United States should feel well satisfied. It enables us to dispose of property we could not otherwise sell, demobilize more of our troops still scattered in the Pacific and cement our good relations with a friendly government. The beneficial effect on China's economic rehabilitation by checking and stimulating industry can hardly be estimated.

Chinese Communists have bitterly opposed the deal. They claim it gives Chiang Kai-shek the means for waging war against them for at least two years. There is no doubt that it increases the resources of the Central and legitimate government, but no airplanes or military weapons are included in the transaction. General Marshall certainly knew all about it and approved it. It represents a real effort on our part not to foment war but to make peace possible in a strong and unified China. Moreover, it is a clear indication that we have no intention of getting out of China, as the Communists demand.

—*The New York Times*

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LIGHT

You were too close awhile for me to know
Wisdom that others lived by long ago;
You were too intimate for me to see
That you, the closest, farthest were from me.
If you had not been far, could you have been
The light that travels closest to my core?
If you had not been near, could I have seen
That other light? And neither love I more.

—*WITTER BYNNER*

CALL TO COMMON MEN

Unlock the doors of cities, break the hills
And let forth those who labor with their hands
And at day's end have only the fluid air,
The reek of rented rooms, the maddened stare
Of debt; and love's blood begging, and hot hopes like sands
Flowing forever frozen through the chasmed eyes.
Break open time, let the blue pillars of sea
Break, and the furied walls of sky erupt,
Let those whose only flowering has been slavery
Walk shining over the bones of the corrupt—
We! — we the gentle-fingered, the quiet at night,
Who could be good because our bank was strong,
Because, investing wisely, we could do no wrong,—
Stride over us, the outward-righteous, inward-vile,
Who, armed with golden word and silver smile,
Bought out the guts of strangers in the market place,
Yet in the mind's marrow were smoking with slow rot.
The wage withheld has turned its other face,
The men live and are victors who were not.
Oh, tear the barriers and let us see
The strength we hobbled burst to immortality.

—*GEORGE ABBE*

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Sidney Lanier's Letters

By George F. Whicher

Professor of English, Amherst College

NOW that a sumptuous and definitive edition of Lanier's writings has marked the centennial of his birth, it is possible to examine more closely than ever before the temperament of the poet who after Poe is the chief glory of Southern letters. Such a study is a rewarding experience. Lanier was not merely a talented musician and writer, but a man of finely tempered spirit whom it is a joy and inspiration to know. In him the chivalry and courtesy inborn and inbred in a native Georgian of his day flowered with an amplitude and grace that were all his own.

Thanks to the devoted labors of Professor Charles R. Anderson and the associate editors of the Centennial Edition, a collection of all Lanier's poems has been issued in one volume and his miscellaneous prose writings have been assembled in the five succeeding volumes. Here may be found the novel *Tiger-Lilies* which the poet began as a boy and finished as a man and so decided to preserve " as a true and faithful representation of growth;" the important and much controverted treatise on *The Science of English Verse;* also various literary papers and magazine articles produced mainly during the last hectic years of Lanier's life when he was lecturing at the Peabody Institute in Baltimore and at the John Hopkins University. In many respects, however, the most interesting feature of the new edition is the four volumes of Lanier's letters. A small selection of his literary correspondence addressed to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Bayard Taylor and others was published in 1899. A large number of the poet's intimate letters to his father and brother and wife have now been added. It is these newly published documents that reveal the best qualities of Lanier's nature. He was remarkable for his private virtues.

The circumstances of his life were enough to embitter a sensitive man, but Lanier's courage and sweetness never failed. Born of a family highly respected in Macon and educated at Oglethorpe University, he was dreaming of further study in Germany and a life of scholarly pursuits when the storm of war broke upon the South. As a "full-blooded Secessionist" Sidney, with his brother Clifford, was among the first to enlist. Later he looked back to the time when he was a Confederate scout as "the most delicious period of my life, in many respects." He continued: "We had a flute and a guitar, good horses, a beautiful country; splendid residences inhabited by friends who loved us, and plenty of hair-breadth 'scapes from

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the roving bands of Federals who were conntinually visiting that Debateable Land." Four months in a Federal prison camp after his capture on a blockade-runner were not so romantic, though Lanier had the solace of companionship with the poet John Bannister Tabb, who remained his friend for life. At the end of the war, his health was shattered.

He was never again completely well. In little more than 15 years, he was dead. During the first half of this period, Lanier struggled manfully to regain his health and to support himself by a variety of occupations, clerking in a hotel and teaching a school, but mainly by becoming a lawyer in his father's office. By 1873 it was clear that he could not stand the strain of legal practice. He then resolved to give himself completely to his twin divinities of music and poetry. As first flute in the Peabody Orchestra of Baltimore, he won the respect of professional musicians and the enthusiastic appreciation of the public. Meanwhile his reputation as a poet and literary scholar led to his appointement as lecturer in English at Johns Hopkins. Just as his prospects were of the fairest his life ended a few months before his fortieth birthday.

During his entire life, Lanier's relations with his parents and with his brother and sister were extremely happy. The family was closely knit in a harmonious and sympathetic union that was broken only by the death of his mother. In Mary Day, whom he married in 1867, he found a mate who was to him "at once Wife, Comrade, Teacher, Inspiration, Sweetheart, Religion, Friend, Country, Music, Ambition, Love, Hope, Longing, Heaven." In her and in his four sons, he attained his deepest happiness, though he could hardly avoid blaming himself at times for his inability to provide for her as he would have wished to do had he been well. Most of their married life was in fact spent in waging a losing battle with poverty from which they were rescued repeatedly by the help of Lanier's father and brother. But, though the poet could not help thinking of his wife as a "Sweet Violet that the wind hath whirled up and lodged in the beard of Adversity," he knew that through all phases of suffering, of bereavement, of poverty, of trial or solicitude she had never for a moment been unhappy, "because she has known that she was loved, has been visibly worshipped and actually adored, each day more than the last." This fervent, sincere and sustaining adoration of his wife was a first article of Lanier's chivalrous creed. He had studied the faces of prosperous but unloved women, and he knew that devotion could mean more than any smug success in life.

The happiness of his home life during the all too infrequent times when he could be with his wife and children was the brightest thread in Lanier's destiny. He was not starved for love, though he felt his lot was cast in arid places as far as the companionship of fellow-artists and the stimulation of cultivated society were concerned. On that subject, his letters are explicit and revealing. He complained in 1866 that except for his father there

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was no one to whom he could show his poetic compositions. To a friend in the North, he wrote at about the same time: "My dear Boy, you are all *so* alive, up there, and *we* are all *so* dead, down here. . . . There's not enough attrition of mind on mind, here, to bring out any sparks from a man." And to Bayard Taylor, nearly a decade later, he added: "I could never describe to you what a mere drought and famine my life has been, as regards that multitude of matters which I fancy one absorbs when one is in an atmosphere of art, or when one is in conversational relation with men of letters, with travellers, with persons who have either seen, or written, or done large things. Perhaps you know that with us of the younger generation in the South since the War, pretty much the whole of life had been merely not-dying."

It was seldom that Lanier permitted himself to make a despondent observation. In the face of sickness and disappointment and the repeated failure of his plans to establish himself where he could support his family, he showed a remarkable resilience of spirit. When he found himself separated from his wife on their fifth wedding anniversary, he composed for her a touching report of an imaginary celebration of the day with gay toasts and speeches given in full. His power to sustain the shocks of life with unfailing gallantry seems to have resulted from an early habit of disciplining his emotional life. In a letter to his father, written when he was only a boy of 18, he explained his sense of the need for emotional education as a supplement to education of the mind. "Do you remember the long discussion we had, going down the other side of Chilhowee, on our fishing-frolic to Abram's Creek?—and the theory that I then put forth in regard to education of the *Emotions,* as contradistinguished from education of the Intellect?" He went on to say that a man must always feel rightly before he can think or act rightly, since both thought and action are instigated by emotion. "Public opinion depends for its soundness on *Public Emotion.*" If the heart of the people is not sound, then they become incapable of carrying out the function of citizens under a republican form of government. His conviction of the fundamental importance of cultivating the emotions as well as the mind Lainer amplified in later life. We find him urging his wife not to spend too much energy in self-analysis and in anxious questionings. Take it for granted that all human beings will be inconsistent and unstable. The only remedy is to "feel more and think less! yield yourself up to the blind and vague delight of your music and your pictures: or to the blind high sorrow of them, if they bring *that* to you as they often do to me . . . Let us, who surely have seen and known some genuine Beauty and genuine Sorrow—let us trust these more . . ."

By yielding himself up to experiences that elevated his emotions to pinnacles of ecstasy, Lanier strengthened his power to see disasters in proportion and to meet them with serenity. He found experiences that restored the balance of life chiefly

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in the loveliness of external nature, in the companionship of women, and in the arts of music and poetry. His letters are full revelations of how deeply sensitive he was to such sweet influences.

Nature was kind to him. He was constantly aware of tranquil surprises and substantial enchantments in the world about him. Each day brought a new vision, a quality never matched before.

If the year were an Orchestra, today would be the Flute-tone in it. A serene Hope, just on the very verge of realizing itself: . . . the ineffable withdrawal-feeling that comes over one when he hides himself in among the trees, and knows himself shut in by their purity, as by a fragile but impregnable wall, from the suspicions and the trade-regulations of men: and an inward thrill, in the air, or in the sunshine, one knows not which, half like the thrill of the passion of love, and half like the thrill of the passion of friendship . . .

Today is perfect spring. Such of the birds as have not gone entirely wild with delight are whistling and trilling with a tranquil passion that is like an ecstasy of religion: but most of them are quite lunatic, and their little throttles are all a-quiver with a miscellaneous maenadic shrill jubilation which maketh the intense blue of heaven seem all a-throb with contagious enthusiasm and the swift water runneth among its grasses like a maiden faring wildly over the earth with locks blown and far-trailing.

From his first acquaintance with daughters of the South, Lanier adopted a tone of reverence toward womankind in general and of ecstatic admiration toward the particular girl he happened to be addressing that is both charming and at times amusing in its flamboyance. His letters to Mary Day and to Virginia Hankins, about 1864, have a certain close similarity. They palpitate with the tenderest expressions of German romance: both young ladies are *heissgeliebte,* both are white petals in the red rose of his heart, both are Hildas out of Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* with doves fluttering about their sanctuaries, both write the best letters he has ever read. And when all this had been many times repeated, he told Miss Hankins that he would like to marry her if he had not already given an unwary promise to still a third young lady. By the time he had extricated himself with honor, Virginia Hankins was unable to marry him for family reasons, and Mary Day became his morning star. But even after his marriage he continued his correspondence with his friend of other days with scarcely diminished fervor. His wife shared his appreciation of a woman whom she never had reason to regard as a rival.

The truth is that Lanier was as susceptible to the charm of woman's presence as he was to music. Being an instinctive artist, he gave ample expression to his feelings in words and was none the worse. He confessed to his wife, how quaintly, the pleasure that he derived from seeing a lively young woman accidentally expose to view her whole foot! "This afternoon Lily and I strolled into the woods and took captive certain sprays of yellow Jessamine, most

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fair to see: and Lily, leaping a wide ditch, fell therein, whereby I saw the foot thereof, wh. was also fair to see."

But all womanly attractions and virtues were concentrated in the wife of his bosom, whose sympathy crowned his every achievement. "I tell you again that, to the Artist, to possess a fair womanly Soul to whom he can send daily some fervent breathing of worship, in the confident knowledge that no most delicate-hinted inspiration therein will ever miss instant and loving recognition,—that is a pinnacle and spire of pleasure, high, keen and glittering." When the progress of his illness had incapacitated his "sword-arm," he practiced writing with the left hand so that he might send her a letter every day. After his flute-playing had received an ovation, he wrote her: "Is not this fine? I declare that the greatest height and depth of my glory, is the sparkle that will come into thy gray eyes when thou readest these words."

In music and poetry, finally, the two arts that he worshipped with a consuming passion, Lanier sought an ultimate refinement of his sensibilities. A violin solo, adagio, with soft accompaniment by the orchestra, seemed to him "like flower-buds expanding into flowers under the sweet rain of the accompaniment." His wife too must "utter herself" in music so that the elasticity of her soul will not be deadened. "In music one finds an immense compensation for all the necessary repressions which come in daily life. I find it growing more and more necessary to me." As for poetry, "My head and my heart are both so full of poems which the dreadful struggle for bread does not give me time to put on paper,—that I am often driven to headache and heartache purely for want of an hour or two to hold the pen." And in 1879 he reiterated to President Gilman of Johns Hopkins the same conviction that he had expressed to his father nearly 20 years before: "It is my fervent belief that to take classes of young men and preach to them the gospel-according-to- Poetry is to fill the most serious gap in our system of higher education: I think one can already perceive a certain narrowing of sympathy and—what is even worse—an unsymmetric development of faculty both intellectual and moral, from a too-exclusive devotion to Science which Science itself would be first to condemn."

As well fortified by esthetic stability as Thoreau was by moral principle, Lanier stoudly defended the humane values of religion, social life, charities and the arts against the spiderwebs of trade that threatened to enmesh all the sanctities with its "filthy garnitures." He denounced the "odor of scoundrelism" that exhaled from Washington. In no respect did he seek to evade the responsibilities cast upon our reason by the enormous complexities of modern life. But his master-thought was to offset and counterbalance the shortcomings of the world by educating men to the appreciation of higher values. To that end he desired to be a "John Keats at his best" with "an American fibre."

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Country Comment:

Duck Shooting vs. Horseshoe Pitching

I HAVE been looking through a sportsman's catalogue that came the other day, and I now have a complete picture of the well-equipped duck hunter. He wears Duck Hunting Boots, Maine Duck Hunting Pants, a Bird Shooting Vest, a Duck Hunting Coat, a Bird Shooting Cap and Shooting Mittens. Besides his gun and ammunition, he carries a special Duck Hunter's Bag. He is well stocked with Lightweight Decoys, Decoy Anchors, Decoy Body Weights and Decoy Lines and Snaps. If the ducks are still reluctant to approach, he blows on a Duck Call, a whistle "made of handsomely finished walnut. The non-corrosive electrically tempered reed is held in place by a plastic block that will not swell. Price $3.50."

I cannot help contrasting the sport of duck hunting with the only sport that my small place affords: horseshoe pitching. The horseshoe pitcher wears any old thing he happens to have on. So far as I know, there is not a single article of clothing specially designed and catalogued for him, even when the player is President Truman himself. And if there is any other equipment need than four horseshoes and two stakes, I have not heard of it. I picked up my horseshoes at a blacksmith's for 10 cents.

Horseshoe pitching has much to commend it. You do not have to travel to the Maine Coast or to the Country Club to enjoy the sport. Consequently you do not have to have a car and buy gasoline and oil for it. You do not have to find a hotel room and the money to pay for it. You do not have to buy a license to play. You do not have to have your equipment repaired or replaced from time to time. You could, but you do not need to, take lessons in horseshoe pitching. If there is a league of horseshoe pitchers, you can get along very well without belonging. You are under no obligation to subscribe to the Horseshoe Pitchers' Journal, if there happens to be one.

Simplicity and cheapness may be things that do not interest you. If so, you will not be a horseshoe pitcher. You will go in for something like horseracing or duck shooting.

But if you do crave a refuge of simplicity in this age of ever-mounting complexity, when science is incomprehensible to the layman, when war is a science and business is a war, when the new music and the new painting and much of the new poetry is something to scratch your head over, and when you need an expert to tell you how to vote, how to invest your money, yes, how to pay your taxes—you may be refreshed to be reminded that the horseshoe pitcher is still extant.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

AWAKENING MUST BE SWIFT

LELAND Stowe has a gift for keen analysis and another, for lucid, unequivocal expression. *While Time Remains,* (Knopf, $3.50), is his current contributon to a knowledge of world affairs. It is something that every American should read, for from it he can glean a much needed education in present foreign affairs, and probably, in the future, domestic problems which will follow.

This is a somewhat frightening book. Stowe takes inventory of the world situation and finds that, while the United States has become the first world power, Russia is a close second and maybe a coming contender. This of itself may not be alarming, but the present rate of misunderstanding between the two bodes no good for anyone. The little matter of the atom bomb has brought the world we know to a point where there is little time for procrastination about nations getting together to promote peace. Stowe's emphasis on this is reflected in the book's title, and it is his reason for summarizing the conditions that face us. It is also the basis for his concluding portion, and, while it is timely, this part has been fairly well publicized by others for the past 12 months.

More important is the manner in which he marshals the facts concerning the blunders of Allied diplomatic and political leaders during war and "peace." For this he uses his own spot observations, plus the reports of other reputable correspondents. Some of these facts have already been published, but Stowe connects them and elicits conclusions which are rational and probably close to actualities.

His interpretations may be open to dispute, but his facts seem authentic. In his examination of Balkan problems, he is frankly pessimistic because of British mistakes and American inaction. It may be that he is anti-British, but his description of the mess the British made in Greece might well make him so. That chapter, disheartening to read, is reminiscent of the rumors of the so-called "Cliveden" set. With it also are the reports of the use of Axis collaborators not only in Greece, but elsewhere, by the administrators of the occupied countries. Here, of course, is where practical world politics come in, in all their dishonesty.

The Asiatic situation, the "rattling of Asia's chains," is shown to be a tinderbox which may ignite at any moment. In this connection, the danger Stowe sees is the reluctance of Britain to face the issue of freedom in the Far East. We ourselves are more or less quiescent abettors of the British empire's last

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stand against her colonial peoples. It is here, in Asia, that Soviet ideology makes its great appeal; where the American government stands aloof, Russia offers something in the way of quasi (if temporary) freedom, and Britain offers the same outdated status of the past century.

As for Russia, Stowe apparently feels that she has swung from Communism slightly toward the Right. Here he will find disagreement as well as agreement, but not of the type he expects. It has been said elsewhere that in place of Leninism, Russia today has gangsterism, but, any way you look at it, the threat of Russia is all important. Important, too, is Stowe's theory that the sufferings in Europe have given impetus to Socialism rather that to Communism. England's new socialistic government is an indication. Stowe is frankly of the opinion that Socialism, or at least greater government direction of economics, is the middle way, and for confirmation he points to the Scandinavian countries.

Worst of all (in his opinion) is our lack of interest in world affairs, and our indifference, even though the last war is not yet finished. His plea is for understanding; the threat the atomic age holds over us demands earnest appreciation of what events in any distant corner of the earth can mean for us. Our own skirts are hardly clean even in internal affairs: prejudice and class conflict are notably apparent. On both counts—what is wrong with our system, and the issues we must face quickly in the international sphere — Stowe offers an excellent book. The trouble is that not enough people read these things. If they did, there would be no problem, but Stowe has done his part in trying to draw attention to the issues.

BRIEFER COMMENT

THE WORLD SCENE

The Future in Perspective, by Sigmund Neumann, (Putnam, $3.00), is an interesting review of the troubles of Europe since Bismarck's time. Indeed, for this purpose it is excellent; it is not detailed nor a textbook, but the facts are generally sketched in. The pages devoted to the future, however, are few and disappointing in that they offer little except optimism. After discussing World War I at length, then the period of adjustment which followed, and finally World War II, the author points to the decline of England from first place. He expresses faith that Russia has enough to do at home to keep her from aggression; that faith seems presently unjustified. His hope is that Russia and the United States will find a way to collaborate; they are the titans whose cooperation must ensure world peace. In his opinion, the United Nations is the first step in the right direction. This is largely a volume of hopefulness, possibly too much so, and not incisive enough in its examination of causes.

It is with good reason that Hallett Abend hates everything Jap-

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anese, and he has in previous books made that reason clear. Now, in *Reconquest. Its Results and Responsibilities*, (Doubleday, $2.75), he reviews what has happened in Europe and in Asia. He was one of 13 writers to travel around the world under the sponsorship of the War Department in June, 1945. Some of his material is personal observation of individual errors on the part of enemy and ally, and this adds to our knowledge. Much of it has been told before. He didn't seem to find repentance in Germany or Austria or in the Orient either, and the Chungking regime receives scant praise. Britain apparently has his approval; he considers that she is already bent on a new deal for her colonies. Russia, however, is set on still greater expansion, partly condoned by the secret agreements made at Yalta and elsewhere.

John Dos Passos in *Tour of Duty*, (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.00), is more objective in the recital of a swing from San Francisco to Honolulu and the Orient, thence to postwar Germany. This was also in 1945. Dos Passos offers no interpretations or opinions, but reports his observations about American G.I.'s, the Nazi's victims in the Far East islands, the German prisoners and D.P.'s after V-E Day. Most of the chapters appeared in *Life* for which Dos Passos was a war correspondent. Of particular interest are the stories of the "little people"—the unimportant pawns or victims of war—told in the author's effective style.

WAR

No Woman's World, by Iris Carpenter, (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.00), is the story of a British war correspondent with the invasion forces after D-Day. There is a good deal of detailed description of civilians and troops, and the strategy of the operations. Naturally, this is from the British viewpoint, which means the other side of the discussion, but Miss Carpenter evidently thought Bradley's ideas good. There is much about the fighting, casualties and differences of top opinion. The unusual feature is that it is a woman who saw these things, but her reactions seem to have been identical with those of the men.

AT HOME

While we are being fed with pleas and prayers to help this or that foreign land re-establish itself economically or convert from a primitive country to a modern state, it is well to consider our United States in the low standard sections. *The Revolt of the South and West*, by A. G. Mezerik (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.00), bitterly attacks the Eastern monopolies and financiers for their constant controls over other sections. Part of it is the familiar protest against our big corporations, but the author presents facts to support his contentions. Part of the trouble seems to lie in the failure of politicians and lawmakers to regulate impartially the common carriers. Mezerick shows that Big Business induced bias even in wartime in governmental procedures. Add this to the books which try to wake up America.

The inside story of the conversion of American industry to a wartime basis is told in *Arsenal of Democracy*, by Donald M. Nelson (Har-

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court, Brace, $4.00). Nelson writes well and gives many facts about the difficulties and the personalities of those in high places in their efforts to attain the needed results. His opinions are those of what we recently knew as the New Deal, and not all of them will be shared by the average reader whether about O.P.A., rationing or the fitness or absolute essentiality of some of the figures. Politically, the book is middle-of-the-road, praising labor and other interests and avoiding making enemies for the author. The Army, however, is not treated so gingerly; Nelson had his differences with the high command.

An entertaining echo of the shootin' West is *Last of the Bad Men,* by Jay Monaghan, (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50). It is the biography of Tom Horn, gunman, Indian fighter, Pinkerton detective and plain killer. It reflects the bad blood between the big ranchers and the pioneer small settlers, and is a good descriptive tale of life in the early days of the West. Horn himself is made out not entirely hero or badman, but a likely candidate for perdition. It is entertaining reading.

Dieticians are in for some surprises. *Not by Bread Alone,* by Vilhjalmur Steffansson, (Macmillan, $3.50), forsakes the great explorer's usual adventures to deal with the question of food. He is keen for meat in the diet, practically nothing but meat, if necessary. He cites his own experiences and those of others in the Arctic, and they are of interest not only to dieticians and cooks but to anyone who is interested in food.

Man-the Maker, from Fire to Atom, by Eileen J. Garrett and Abril Lamarque, (Creative Age, $2.50), is a volume of pictures with text to explain the evolution of the power of fire from primitive times to the present. It is a graphic way of showing man's progress in this one field, intended for popular reading.

Another attempt to make the study of electronics understandable to the lay reader is *The Working Electron,* by Raymond F. Yates, (Harper's, $2.50). With the aid of pictures and diagrams, Yates discusses the subject in a manner designed to assist the interested student.

A very pleasant book, autobiographical by proxy, is *Though Long the Trail,* by Mabel Hobson Draper, (Rinehart, $3.00). Mrs. Draper tells her own mother's story in the first person. This is the hazardous Oregon Trail of the 18-60's, and the daily excitements, joys and hardships of a pioneer family. It is the simplicity of the story concerned only with the problem of living and keeping alive, and not with any political, economic or historical background that makes it effective. For all that, it is the history of human beings and an era.

FICTION

Advertising and publicity men having recently furnished the rôle of bad men in fiction, it is fitting that in *The Miracle of the Bells,* by Russell Janney, (Prentice-Hall, $3.00), they get a break. The central figure is a theatrical publicity agent, and he furnishes the motive power for a clean, commendable novel about a girl from the coal mines of Pennsylvania who makes

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the grade. Granted that Janney pulls all the sob stops; he also has humor, a dramatic sense and an eye on the emotions that move plain people. He has an idea, too, and a good one, and he develops it to include a lovable Catholic priest and a sympathetic Jewish producer of films. Altogether this is a simple but powerful story, pure entertainment and good enough to keep you up late.

A little editorial surgery might have removed the objectionable atmosphere and given humor a chance to flower. *Eve's Second Apple,* by Barnaby Dogbolt, (Dutton, $2.75), has some funny situations. A little conformity to the requirements of good taste would have turned it into a pleasant book.

Dangerous Honeymoon, by Axel Kielland, (Little Brown, $2.50), is a clever espionage story of an American girl in Berlin and a Swedish gentleman. To say more would be unfair to the plot which is a translation from the Swedish text and original Norwegian by Carolyn Hannay. It is as good a mystery story as you want to read, although not a mystery at all, full of fun and danger spots.

Sholom Aleichem, chronicler of the customs and traditions of his people, is dead 30 years, but his stories live on. *The Old Country,* (Crown, $3.00), is a collection of some 26 short tales of the Jews in their Russian homeland, full of their peasant and small town humor and way of life. The translator adds a glossary for the comprehension of the unchanged idioms.

Ludwig Bemelman's adventures in the hotel world are already known to many. Now, in *Hotel Bemelmans,* (Viking, $3.00), he has gathered 36 short stories, some from his earlier books, and three new ones. Illustrated by the informal drawings of the author, they make a satisfying *table d'hôte* of his wit and ingenuity. Being in the nature of biography, Bemelmans is always in the offing, which is an added attraction.

• The new evolution: the rabbit: hare today, mink tomorrow.

• "How many people work at your place, Joe?"
"Oh, about half."

• "What's the matter with your finger?"
"Oh, I was downtown getting some cigarettes yesterday, and some clumsy fool stepped on my hand."

• "How are you?"
"Oh, I'm aching from neuritis."
"Glad to meet you. I'm Jones from Harrisburg."
—*Journeyman Barber*

• The local weatherman, tired of being the butt of all jokes, asked to be transferred to another station. Headquarters wrote back requesting the reason for the transfer.
"Because", the weatherman replied, "the climate doesn't agree with me."

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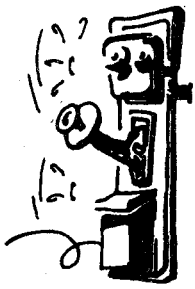
FIFTY YEARS of FORUM

1896 ~~~~ 1946



There is no comparison between foresight and hindsight when determining which is easier. Perhaps it is unfair to examine and expose the opinions expressed in the Forum of 1896, but it is strange to see how much and how little 50 years will change the life of a nation. The outward scene has changed a great deal, for we no longer discuss the bloomer, the bicycle or the saloon. But inflation, the race problem, the United States foreign policy and international cooperation are controversial issues today as they were in 1896.

"The popular estimate of the commercial importance of the proposed Nicaragua Canal is based upon an exaggerated estimate of the commercial importance of the Panama Canal." In computing the amount of tonnage which would probably pass through 'an American interoceanic ship canal' either Panama or Nicaragua, Joseph Nimmo, Jr., the irate author, states, "by a liberal treatment of all matters in doubt, I found that 1,625,000 tons of shipping were all that could then be expected to pass through the proposed canal during a year." This was, of course, written two years before the tortuous trip of the battleship Oregon around Cape Horn revealed to all the importance of the interoceanic canal.

A French writer comments on American women. "They are brighter than any other women in the world, quite naturally so, and I do not know why the father of the family should be so anxious to add to this brilliancy by pilgrimages to Europe in which he does not take part."

Even in 1896 they were saying, "proper home surroundings for wage-earners are of vital importance because the health of the nation is its wealth."

Mr. A. S. Van de Graaff treats the *Unaided Solution of the Southern Race Problem.* To the South unquestionably belongs the future. In such an expansion of its population and wealth as even a single generation has witnessed in the West, its race problem must vanish, even though the emigration of the blacks should cease; sectional lines must be blotted out and South and North merged in the indivisible Union."

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

THE 1946-47 season which starts this autumn marks the beginning of a new period in the theatre. We are entering upon a new phase which may be clouded over by the legacy of the recent past but is relieved from the exigencies of an actual world war and the precarious balancing of Western civilization against the military power, as well as specific reactionary philosophy, of a finally defeated Germany. It is impossible to speak with any certainty about the era upon which we are embarking, and prognostications concerning the nature of the next period in our theatre history are likely to be futile. It is possible only to take stock of what our stage is bringing to the new period. But an inventory is not altogether a waste of effort since the theatre's response will be determined, at least in part, by the resources and attitudes it carries with it.

A comprehensive inventory would take stock of the shortage of buildings available to the legitimate theatre. Something may be done about this. It all depends on real estate conditions, on the financial condition of the theatre and on the other prosaic factors. I have neither the competence nor the inclination to discuss these. It is obvious, however, that a continuing theatre shortage would impede our progress. The serious social drama, the dramaturgic experiment and the delicate poetic play of fantasy are bound to be discouraged. If these cannot be housed, they will not be produced. If they are not produced, they are not going to be written; at least, not by theatre-wise playwrights who are, as a rule, the only ones who can make such work prevail on the stage.

We must also take note of the overcentralization of the theatre in Manhattan and a few other large cities where the fate of our drama is circumscribed by the above-mentioned real estate situation, the high cost of rentals and productions, the resulting high prices for theatre tickets and the consequent overspecialization of audiences. This, too, is a long story. Overcentralization is a legacy from the '20's. The history of the struggle against this trend is the history of the small community and university theatres as well as the summer theatres. The results have been meager, except in the case of the short-lived W.P.A. projects, the Federal Theatre, and the results in this instance were transitory; that is, they died with the Federal Theatre. The hard fact is that the community, university and summer theatres have imitated Broadway virtually in every respect—in the plays produced, the manner of production and the type of acting.

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The difference is only that these so-called "tributary" theatres have done the same sort of thing less expertly than Broadway. They cannot claim to have produced better and more frequent professionally competent experiments during the past decade, or to have uncovered playwrights who have national significance. They have not even established a significant repertory or developed acting companies of any distinction. Even the bravest effort along those lines, Jasper Deeter's Hedgerow Theatre in Rose Valley, Pennsylvania, failed to constitute any revelation when it exhibited itself in New York. The most that can be said is that the tributary theatres have kept the theatre active in their localities. They have not altered the face and the orientation of the American theatre as did the little art theatres before 1920. If they ever came within hailing distance of such an accomplishment, they did so for a very brief period in New York under a diversified left-wing dispensation through the Workers Laboratory Theatre, the New Theatre League, the Artef and the Mercury Theatre. Yet the importance of developing a vital decentralized theatre in America is almost unanimously recognized and it is currently the prime objective of the national theatre organization known as A.N.T.A. (American National Theatre Academy), which is still unfortunately only on paper. What will come of this effort is one of the question marks of the future.

A related problem is the high cost of theatrical enterprise to which we may add the harassing regulations and "make-work" policies of the stage unions. Solutions are not going to be easy. Complaints and vituperation will accomplish nothing, since trying to charge as much as the traffic will bear and "make-work" policies are not the special vices of the stage unions or of unions of any kind, but are facets of our total economy. Without a solution, the commercial Broadway theatre cannot lift itself much beyond present levels, and a decentralized professional theatre is bound to run its ideals into the same blind alley that Broadway has come up against. Concessions can be wrung from the unions for special experiments which do not operate for profit as has been the case with the New York Library's Equity Productions, and as may be the case with an Experimental Theatre for which foundations are being laid in New York. But a feasible arrangement will have to be made with the unions in the case of any theatre project in which producers, directors, scene designers and actors are paid, and in which playwrights can receive more than nominal royalties. And no theatre in America which fails to provide all its artist and workers with a decent living is likely to matter in the long run.

On the physical and practical side, the American theatre brings to the new era, for better and worse, a complicated tradition of *laisser-faire*, fly-by-night entrepeneurism and genteel shabbiness. It would be a miracle if the problems arising from this were really mastered in the foreseeable future without major changes in our way of life. If those changes occurred, it is of course probable that other problems

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would develop, and the theatre might be worse, rather than better, off. It is most probable that any headway the theatre makes will have to come in the form of compromises and continual adjustments, and this prospect is unlikely to trouble any but chronic planners who would like to eliminate all hazard from the theatre. The theatre, however, is used to hazards and to a hit-or-miss existence and frequently draws a special intensity and originality from the sense of adventure. A completely stabilized theatre might well be a dead one.

Whatever modification, amplification or adjustment the American stage may make will, moreover, be ultimately gauged by its results, by the quality of its plays and productions. Have we the actors, directors and playwrights for a vital theatre? A considered answer to this question is the only one that can really matter.

Have we the actors? Yes and no. We have not even scratched the surface of acting talent in America. No matter how many good actors Hollywood pipes away from the stage, there will always be a fresh supply. Indeed, the question has generally been whether the theatre can absorb all those who are eager and able to act, a problem that can be solved only by a substantial increase in profitable stage production. Nonetheless, it is true that talent cannot grow, cannot become wholly reliable, so long as the actor does not have opportunities for acting continuously and with challenging diversity. At present, if he is lucky, he either appears seasonally in a few plays that close within a week or two or he plays the same part with deadening monotony for a year or longer. This situation will prevail until the American theatre converts to repertory. All past efforts along these lines have failed to materialize. Our actors are able, but they are unseasoned.

Our scenic designers are among the ablest in the world, but they are discouraged men. A small number of them suffice to fill all available assignments in the commercial theatre.

As for directors of productions, the situation is complicated by the fact that a director rarely looks better than the show he is expected to direct. If he should have the talent to rework a play script, he rarely has an opportunity to perform a radical operation on the play. Dramatist Guild regulations require the consent of the playwright to any alterations. It is one thing to tell the dramatist what changes to make; it is another thing to get a good job of revision from the writer after he has accepted the directors' suggestions. The probability is that we have many directors, but we rarely see more than a handful displaying their talents Owing to human inertia, as well as the risks of high-cost production, producers have assigned the 10 or 12 better than average plays to the same directors year in and year out. A few directors are called upon to direct more often than they should if they are really to steep themselves in the assignment. The rest are rarely allowed to direct and, consequently, lack the experience and personal authority to make their will prevail. A director must know how

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to manage a cast with a minimum of confusion and friction; only experience can teach him how to do this. A director must also be able to get what he wants out of his actors, and for this he needs authority; how will he have it if he lacks an imposing record of accomplishment in the field?

Fnally, we have the playwright. His craft is basic to all the other crafts in the modern theatre, yet he is the weakest part of our theatre. The schools are full of aspiring young students of the drama. Few of them graduate. The usual explanation is that they don't have opportunities to see their work on the stage. Producers are said to be stupid or overcautious, and they may be made one or the other by the general conditions of play production in the theatre. The argument can be pressed closer, but it evades the elusive question of talent (the truth is that playwrighting is the most difficut form of writing) and the complicated question of another intangible thing for which there may be no better term than "inspiration."

If we make a quick survey of the playwrights who have given our American drama substance, we shall find that they fall into three groups —the playwrights who came to the fore in the art theatre of the '20's; those who made their mark in the left-wing theatre of the middle '30's; and sports like Saroyan and Tennessee Williams. Unless these writers undergo fundamental transformations of mind, spirit and heart, our theatre is unlikely to change its complexion. The alternative possibility is the rise of a large body of new playwrights and this can be discribed only *a posteriori* — once they have arisen.

Each group contributed something of value, and the theatre will have to rely upon them further. The first, which consists of our elder statesmen (O'Neill, Maxwell Anderson, Rice, Sherwood, Behrman, Philip Barry and Kaufman) gave us an intelligent anti-philistine drama. They played all the tunes of modern drama; they fingered all the stops of sexual freedom, sophistication, Freudianism, anti-militarism, anti-regimentation, and anti-materialism. They did well enough, producing dozens of plays that would not discredit any nation's theatre, even if they never even remotely approached the firmament which holds the stars of Sophocles, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Strindberg and Shaw. (One of them, O'Neill, actually vaulted to that firmament even though his grasp vastly exceeded his reach; and, in a sense, we should perhaps extirpate him from his Broadway colleagues.) These playwrights still retain their position, and two or three comparative newcomers like the *State of the Union* authors, Crouse and Lindsay, or Garson Kanin of *Born Yesterday* are junior members of the fraternity. They can still be counted upon to turn out intelligent and clever plays. They will have no difficulty adapting themselves to the new period.

The second group consists of such writers as Kingsley, Lillian Hellman, Odets, Irwin Shaw and a number of other writers who were the new generation in the '30's. They vitalized and intensified the

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art of social drama. One of them, the Odets of *Awake and Sing* and *Golden Boy,* became the poet of the submerged lower middle-class, a lyricist of bewilderment, frustration, and the search for new values. One of them, Lillian Hellman, became the creator of the most compact and hard-driving plays of the recent past with *The Children's Hour, The Little Foxes* and *Watch on the Rhine.* The Arthur Laurents who gave us *Home of the Brave,* last seen on Broadway, is a blood-brother of this group. So is the Harry Brown who wrote the best of our war plays, *The Sound of Hunting.* They still have a contribution to make.

The "sports" surprised us with welcome glimmers of poetry that belonged neither to the art theatre nor to the depression and anti-fascist theatre. Saroyan's *My Heart's in the Highlands, The Time of Your Life, The Beautiful People* and many other less successful efforts, Tennessee Williams' *Battle of Angels* and *The Glass Menagerie,* and Mrs. Chase's *Harvey* brought a kind of wild magic to Broadway. They may bring it again; and if they don't, new writers may bring it, since sports there will always be.

Each group, nevertheless, is anchored to its nature, so that, barring the advent of as yet undiscovered writers, hope for the immediate future of American playwriting must be qualified.

The oldest group is grizzled and tired; the decline of the Playwrights' Theatre Company, which has contained most of these writers, suggests this. Moreover, they are set in their ways, and even the O'Neill whose new plays are coming this season and next will probably not differ from the work he gave us until 1935 when he retired from the scene. These dramatists have not revealed any new facets, have uncovered no revitalizing springs of thought or passion, since the '30's.

The left-wing writers drew sustenance from a depressed economy which may or may not return. Even if it does return, another and equally important source of strength to them is materially absent. They owed their buoyancy and force, their optimism and zeal, to a Marxist belief that the conflict of classes would end in victory for a revolutionary proletariat. Soviet Russia was a particular inspiration to them —a Soviet Russia, actual or imagined or both, which had supposedly eradicated the evils that produced their social protest. The wellsprings of that hope were soon to be contaminated by such elements as the relative success of American middle-of-the-road policies, the Moscow trials and the Russo-German pact. The heroic stand of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler, especially before the succession of victories in the West, may have restored faith for some of these writers, but the postwar wrangles are surely tarnishing it again.

And regardless of how critical these writers may be of Western policies, regardless of how many extenuating circumstances they may find or invent for Russia, the pristine millenial hope must be gone. Contributing factors are the repugnance to dictatorship and power-

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politics that every sensitive independent Western writer feels instinctively, and such confusions, understandable only in machiavellian political-terms, which lead the same government to denounce Franco and woo Perón almost in the same breath. A more sophisticated, more qualified literary radicalism is bound to eventuate, if indeed this has not already occurred—if one may judge from the silence or tame writing that emanates from the militant school of the '30's. And without a soaring heart and a simon pure distinction between right and wrong, the radical playwright cannot sing his song. I suspect that seven years of failure in the career of Clifford Odets can be ascribed to some such circumstances. He has lacked the unadulterated ferment that leavened *Waiting for Lefty, Till the Day I Die, Awake and Sing* and *Golden Boy*, each with its elementary gospel.

As for the "sports," little need be said other than that sports rarely produce progeny. Saroyan flashed across the horizon of the theatre. For every acceptable play, he has produced at least two maladroit pieces, and there is nothing to indicate that he will contribute much more to the stage.

I realize that there is more to be said, especially on the subject of dramatic forms and "producers." Concerning the former, however I am sceptical to this extent: I do not believe that by and large, our problem is one of selecting or developing some special form of dramaturgy. The American theatre since 1919 has tried every conceivable form. It has experimented with realism, expressionism, surrealism, the living newspaper and the related so-called "epic," multiscened, multistyled forms of playwriting. The American theatre may be partial to the one-set realistic play for reasons of economy, but it is accessible to any form of dramaturgy. What matters finally is not the mold but what is poured into it. As for producers, they may be a sorry lot who discriminate against seemingly unprofitable, because experimental plays and then proceed to produce, season after season, at least 50 "commercial" plays that fail miserably. Such is the charge, and there is a good deal of truth in it. But the producers' errors are inextricable from the other factors noted in this survey. And, as one who has read nearly all new plays submitted to managements for the past 15 years, I can vouch for the fact that the proportion of really meritorious plays that has not seen the light of day is exceedingly small, and even this estimate is weighted in favor of the playwright. The one crumb of comfort which this grizzled play reader can offer the unproduced writer is to tell him what he already knows; namely, that his unproduced play is no worse or may be a shade better, than the vast majority of plays that for one reason or another did get produced.

• "If you want to put your ashes and cigarette butts in your cup and saucer, let the waitress know and she will serve the coffee in the ash tray."—Cafe sign in Des Moines, Iowa.

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The International Scene

The optimism which followed World War I is not apparent in the aftermath of World War II. Gone are the days when the diplomats knew they had fought the last war, the "war to end all wars." No longer is it a question of making "the world safe for democracy" but a conflict over *whose* democracy, the Soviet Union's or ours? The diplomats may feel that we were swept away by benevolent, but wishful, thinking after the last war and that we must be realistic now. Then there was no talk of World War II; now there is talk of World War III.

The difficulties of the major powers, moreover, transcend the walls of the Luxembourg Palace in Paris where the peace conference meets. The situation in the Security Council, in Greece, in Poland, in China and in Yugoslavia reflects the attitudes of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. Everywhere there are conflicts; few concessions.

MAKING HASTE SLOWLY

Twice the United Nations has had to postpone the meeting of the General Assembly so that it would not conflict with the peace conference in Paris. Now the date is set for October 23. But the question still remains; will the nations in Paris have finished their business by that time?

The various committees hope to complete by the first week in October, their recommendations on the peace treaties for Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland for presentation to the plenary sessions of the conference. Once the recommendations are approved by the 21 nations, it will be up to the Big Four to write the final texts of the treaties. But by September 15, only two of the commissions, who were working on the political and territorial clauses of the Rumanian and Finnish treaties, had completed their work. Still to be undertaken were the meaty problems of the conference, problems upon which the Big Four could not agree in past conferences; namely, the Italo-Yugoslav border, the permanent status of Trieste, the disposition of the Italian colonies, reparations and the future economy of the Russian-dominated Danube basin.

Although the final peace treaties were to be indisputedly "dictated" ones, the conference listened to the criticisms by the nations in question. Alcide de Gasperi, Italian Premier, pleaded for a more lenient peace, a plea which V. M. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, assailed bitterly. George Tatarescu, Foreign Minister of Rumania, and George Kulishev, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, claimed the status of co-belligerency for their belated contributions to the Allied cause. For Finland, Foreign Minister Carl J. A. Enckell sought a reduction in reparations.

The conference was not however without excitement. During the

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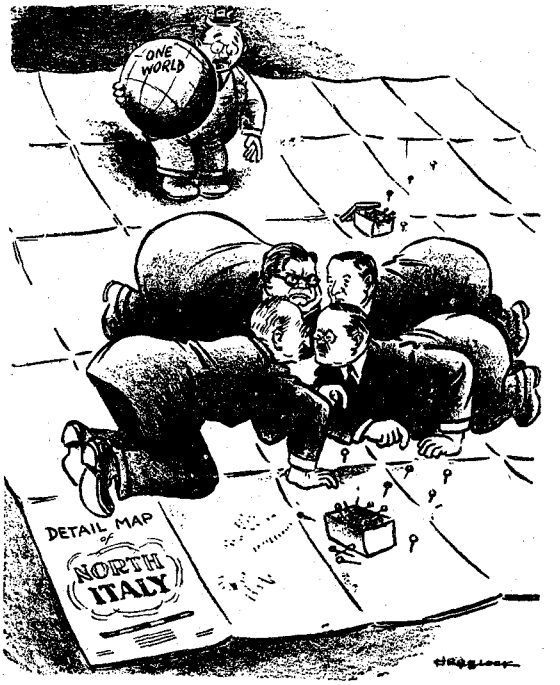
last month, Mr. Molotov warned the Italians against a link with American capitalism and questioned American interests in the Mediterranean. Replying to these charges, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes declared that the United States had suffered "repeated abuse and misrepresentation" and asked the conferees whether they wanted to see the economy of the Danube put behind an open door or an iron curtain. Another verbal (and would that were the extent of it!) duel took place between Australia and the Soviet Union. Molotov denounced the Australian plan to establish a permanent commission on reparations and accused Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Australian delegate, of delaying the conference by introducing a large number of amendments. He suggested further that Australia was merely acting as a front for "other nations," namely the United States and Great Britain. A few days later, August 30, Russian fire again fell on the United States as Molotov referred to the presence of United States warships in Greek waters and accused the United States and Great Britain of "interference" in Greek affairs.

Everyone was not pessimistic. Dr. Evatt commented: "I would rather have a year of this than a week of war."

EMBARRASSING DIPLOMACY

Two members of President Truman's cabinet have made speeches in the last few weeks on the affairs of the world at large. On September 6, in the Opera House in bombed-out Stuttgart, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes made an important declaration of American policy. Then on September



Herblock in The Washington Post

"You Fellows Keeping Your Eyes on the Ball?"

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12, in New York's Madison Square Garden, Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace made another speech, also on American foreign policy. His views contrasted sharply with those of the Secretary of State. Which represents the policy of the Administration?

Speaking on the future of Germany, Mr. Byrnes addressed his remarks to 70,000,000 Germans, to the Soviet Union, to the world and to his immediate audience in the Opera House. "It is not in the interests of the German people or in the interest of world peace that Germany should become a pawn or a partner in a military struggle for power between East and West." He stated further that the United States was anxious to decide upon the essential terms of a peace settlement without delay so that the Germans might know what to expect. The Germans should soon be allowed to make preparations for the establishment of a democratic government. Other excerpts included: recognition of the French claim to the Saar valley; "As long as an occupation force is required in Germany, the Army of the United States will be a part of that force."; "The United States will favor such controls over the whole of Germany . . . as may be necessary for security purposes." Before making the speech, Mr. Byrnes had gone over the text carefully with President Truman and thought he had the approval of both Republicans and Democrats in Congress, as personified by Senators Vandenberg and Connally.

Mr. Wallace's words were of another color. He criticized the "get tough with Russia" policy: "The tougher we get, the tougher the Russians will get." The United States should withdraw from eastern Europe: "We should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of eastern Europe than Russia has in the affairs of Latin America . . .". Further: "I believe that we can get cooperation once Russia understands that our primary objective is neither saving the British Empire nor purchasing oil in the Near East with the lives of American soldiers." Mr. Wallace also had the President's approval.

President Truman finally made a statement on the conflicting views. There had been no change in American foreign policy, he declared, he had merely approved Wallace's right to make a speech on foreign policy. But he dismissed Wallace from his Cabinet. Our avowed policy toward the Soviet Union, however, has yet to be clarified. And that policy is not merely a question of our foreign policy, but of world peace.

REPRIMAND

It is not often that the United States government delivers an ultimatum. This case was doubly interesting because the ultimatum did not say "stop or we shall fight" but "stop or we shall bring the case before the Security Council."

According to the present international law, a nation's sovereign rights extend upward indefinitely in the air over its territory. This latent right became an important factor when Soviet-backed Yugoslavia charged the United States with continued infringement of it. On August 9 an Ameri-

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can plane, on the way from Vienna to the Adriatic, was discovered flying over Yugoslav territory and was forced down. Ten days later another American plane was found in a similar situation and, this time, was shot down. All five passengers, American Army officers, were killed. An indignant United States declared that the violations did not represent any malicious attempts to infringe upon Yugoslav sovereignty.

On August 21, the United States issued a 48-hour ultimatum to Yugoslavia. Unless that country gave satisfaction for the outrages committed against the United States, it would have to face action by the United Nations Security Council. Several days later the State Department announced that Yugoslavia had apparently complied with the terms issued and on September 1 received a formal apology from Marshal Tito for the death of the five American fliers. Insisting upon an indemnity for the families of those killed, the United States considered the case closed.

"COME HOME: ALL FORGIVEN"

The issues dividing the Big Three powers underlined the Greek plebiscite on the monarchy, September 1. Great Britain (and the United States) favored the return of George II and the Soviet Union opposed it. The Anglo-Americans were particularly concerned lest Greece be swallowed up in the rising tide of Russian influence in the Balkans.

The Greek people voted for the restoration. According to government figures, more than 70 per cent of the voters backed the king. While extremists challenged the vote, the government accepted it as a free expression of the people. Abroad, it was viewed as a vote against Communism.

Greek problems, however, were not only domestic but concerned the Security Council. On August 24, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic accused Greece, with British sympathy, of trying to foment war in the Balkans and requested the Security Council to take up the dispute. The United Kingdom and the Netherlands demanded that the Council refuse to take up the Ukrainian charges. Over their opposition and with the approval of the United States, the Security Council voted on September 3 to place on the agenda the charge that the situation in the Balkans, particularly Greece, endangered "the maintenance of international peace and security." In the ensuing debate, Andrei Gromyko asserted that "the presence of British troops in Greece and their interference in Greek affairs . . . is an insult to the Greek people." On the other hand the British delegate, Sir Alexander Cadogan, retorted, "I most hotly resent" the "slanders" cast by the Russian and Ukrainian spokesmen on the British Army." At this writing, nothing definite has been decided.

FOREVER STRIFE

The most fiery of the unsolvable problems, problems which seem to be growing in intensity and in number, is that of the Arab versus the Jew in Palestine. The fact that the Holy Land is the scene of tense religious conflict as well as political rivalry makes the problem an unduly complex

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one. Whether or not the people in that much coveted country will ever live in peace and tranquility is a question only the Sphinx can answer.

The British, who control Palestine as a mandate, are once more engaged in the task of bringing the Arab and the Jew together in hope of finding some common agreement. The basis for the talks which opened in London on September 10 is a plan drawn up by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee on Palestine for the "federalization" of the Holy Land. According to the plan, the Jewish province would include about 1,500 of Palestine's 10,000 square miles and the Arab section, 3,500 square miles. The British would continue to exercise control of the country. Concessions, however, appealed neither to the Jews nor the Arabs. Jewish groups suggested that Palestine be divided into two completely autonomous states with the British out entirely. On the other hand, the Arabs demanded the end of Jewish immigration and the establishment of Palestine as an independent state in the Arab League.

With such misunderstanding, the conference hardly provoked optimism. In the first place, only 15 representatives from the Arab states and the Arab League attended; the key Arab and Jewish figures were missing. The Arab Higher Committee of Palestine rejected the British invitation to London since the British would not permit its head, the Mufti of Jerusalem, to attend. And the Jewish Agency, representing the 600,000 Jews in Palestine, refused to participate unless the British broadened the basis for discussion. In greeting the few delegates present, British Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee said that the British plan for the federalization of Palestine was subject to revision and pleaded for a conciliatory view of the whole problem. His words, however, were not enough to dispel prevailing pessimism.

Back in Palestine, too, there were few signs of possible friendship. Jewish extremists flared up in Tel Aviv and Jaffa in a new outbreak of violence. Banks and a prison were raided and several people were killed. On September 14, a note of encouragement came from Haganah, the largest Jewish resistance group, in the form of a denunciation of acts of violence and sabotage. Meanwhile, scores of illegal Jewish immigrants are being turned away from Palestine to Cyprus.

MOSLEMS: "EQUALITY"

Another unsolvable problem, also fought with religious intensity, is that of self-government in India. After more than 400 years of domination by the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British, the "brightest jewel in the British crown" is in the process of being given back to its people. The British Viceroy, Lord Wavell, called upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, head of the Congress (Hindu) party, to form the first all-Indian Executive Council. Until a constitutional regime is established, the Executive Council, with the Viceroy acting as ex officio chairman, will govern India. Its powers are limited to such things as defense, communications, foreign affairs which concern India as a whole.

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The problem lies in representation in the new government. Of the seven main groups in India, Hindus, Moslems, Untouchables, Christians, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and Parsees, all are represented in the Executive Council. But the Moslems included are not members of the Moslem League, which has the support of 78 per cent of the Moslem population. The Moslem League, under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, demands parity with the Congress party and the right to name all Moslem ministers before it will support the government. The Hindu majority has refused these demands. The result: deadlock and the forebodings of civil war. In Bombay alone, since the new government took office on September 2, the official casualty toll in the Moslem-Hindu disorders reached 213 killed and 634 wounded. On September 9, Jinnah proposed a "new start," meaning a new interim government.

The Domestic Scene

The sense of comparative peace which settled over the country as the anniversary of V-J Day rolled around gave the American people a certain false sense of security and approaching prosperity. They learned in the next few weeks that the old adage "You are your own worst enemy" can be painfully true. The Japanese and the Germans were unable in the very prime of their combined strength to achieve a coastal blockade such as that achieved during the strike of the maritime workers. The trucking strike in New York City caused more confusion in that metropolis than the war years ever saw. Re-control of meat prices caused black markets to flourish anew side by side with markets dealing in all the scarce commodities which lagging factory production was still unable to produce in desirable quantities. The veteran of Saipan found himself home in a land which couldn't sell him a car, ("It'll cost you five hundred bucks extra, mister") couldn't provide him a home, ("That'll be ninety a month and we expect a three-hundred dollar bonus"), couldn't sell him a steak when he wanted it and offered a life of frustration complete if he happened to live in New York. And, as the last straw, even the stock market was beginning to feel the wear and tear of life in the United States.

PRICE CONTROL AND THE BLACK MARKET

Early in August the new three-man price decontrol board headed by chairman Roy L. Thompson waded through its first series of hearings to decide whether price ceilings on butter, milk, grains, cottonseed, soybeans and meat should be restored. The debate on whether the law of supply and demand, if given further time for adjustment, would set up its own controls, was waged hotly by farm, trade, manufacturing, milling, exporting and cooperative groups on the one hand and consumer, labor, veteran and international food supply organizations on the other.

Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations urged the

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resumption of lower prices and price controls, and the National Wage Stabilization Board stated that the line on wages could not be held unless essential foods were recontrolled. On August 20, the board ruled that meat, cottonseed and soy beans met the three stipulations necessary for price control: (1) prices had risen unreasonably above the June 30 ceiling price plus the amount subsidizing the product, (2) supply was short, and (3) regulation was practicable, enforceable and in the public interest.

On hearing that the board felt that grains and dairy products should not be re-controlled, the C.I.O. asserted that the decision would "bring greater inflation to the American people." The Office of Price Administration rolled up its sleeves for a bout with black markets, particularly in meat, and Paul A. Porter, Price Administrator, reported that in anticipation of the move made by the Decontrol Board a staff of 2,500 men were on hand to act as special investigators checking meat as it moved from livestock markets to retail counters.

Despite precautions, in the weeks to come, meat became scarcer, special agents were defied by burly butchers, orders were given meat markets by telephone. The showcases of the nation were as empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard by the middle of September. Housewives learned that even war recipes were balked by the new shortages. Bologna seemed to be the big standby from Boston to San Francisco.

The heavy shipment and processing of meat during the summer holiday from price control and the reinstatement of controls reducing the retail prices of meat an estimated 20 to 40 per cent below the uncontrolled levels seemed to be the main causes for the abrupt shortages.

Meanwhile, as meat became scarcer, the consumer was faced with a rise in the cost of stimulants to help him face his troubles. Beer on tap went up a cent a glass and two cents a quart. Coffee went from 10 to 13 cents a pound. Retail prices on durable goods such as radios, toasters, heaters, coffee makers, shavers, washing machines and stoves were increased in compliance with the price act of July 25. The new changes were expected to cost the public more than $150,000,000 additional dollars a year.

The O.P.A. has started a drive to stop the ever-present black market in new and used cars which has already cost the buyers an estimated $50,000,000 in excess prices. The agitated consumer, unable to afford a car under these conditions, or forced through necessity to buy one anyway, is "had" either way.

As prices go up, the only solution for the average wage earner is a wage readjustment giving him real buying power. In the past weeks, labor has asserted itself again in new strikes portentious of troubled times ahead.

FOR A LIVING WAGE

The ports of the nation might have been closed by mine fields for all the activity during the recent maritime strike. On September 5, 65,000 members of the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the

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Pacific, both A.F.L. affiliates, struck. The strike affected ships of all nationalities and held up a large percentage of the world's merchant marine, comprising 69,335,000 gross tons. Congestion of traffic caused the Association of American Railroads to place an embargo on nearly all rail shipments going to afflicted ports. The War Department announced that supply lines to troops abroad had been completely severed and in New York, where supplies from the hinterland were cut off by the trucking strike, supplies from abroad were reduced to a trickle.

The history of the strike began last June when six C.I.O. unions and one independent union gained a government-sponsored agreement granting a 22 cents an hour wage increase and a 48-hour week. Two other unions were left unsatisfied, the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Last July these two unions won an agreement from ship operators representing government-owned ships and privately-owned vessels under which their able seamen would earn $10 more than the C.I.O. seamen were earning. On August 23, the Wage Stabilization Board proclaimed that the A.F.L. seamen would receive the same pay on government-owned ships as their C.I.O. opposites. In an attempt to force the board to reverse its action, the two A.F.L. unions struck, though actually only a small percentage of the 65,000 strikers would benefit directly from a reversal of the ruling. Those benefiting would be the able seamen working on government-owned ships.

Shoemaker in The Atlanta Constitution

"WHO ALWAYS GETS IT IN THE END?"

On September 10, the board met to review the case. With ship owners, dockyard workers and ship crews waiting anxiously, they debated, and on September 11 announced their decision. The August 23 veto still held. On September 12, President Truman announced that a formula had been devised to break the

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strike and soon after John R. Steelman, Economic Stabilization Director, explained the new formula as being an amendment of the wage-price regulations. The amendment makes it possible for a government agency operating shipping to pay the same wage scale as that agreed upon by private ship owners without recourse to the War Stabilization Board.

On Friday, September the thirteenth, the A.F.L. unions signed contracts with operators who had been given government permission to go ahead and pay the increases demanded. For a short while everyone concerned took a good breath. It soon developed that the trouble in shipping circles had just begun. Now the C.I.O. wanted the wage increase won by the A.F.L. The C.I.O. went on Strike September 13, for equal wages and the ships were still tied up.

While the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. competed in an effort to gain wage increases, seemingly without interest in the fact that thousands were being seriously harmed and that the economy of the entire nation was suffering a set back such as our enemies had never achieved, New York City was in the throes of a trucking strike as careless of John Q. Public's welfare as the shipping strike.

In the past weeks, it has become increasingly evident to New Yorkers that the big trucks blocking the highways and crowding narrow city streets are the life line of the city. Each day some 5,000 of these huge long-distance trucks rumble into New York bringing produce from all directions of the compass; within the city, 100,000 more trucks move from depots to retail outlets. Normally trucks haul some 375,000 dozen eggs; 693,000 pounds of fish; 2,640,000 quarts of milk; and 3,750,000 pounds of fruits and vegetables every day.

At midnight, August 31, 15,000 teamsters parked their trucks in garages and parking areas and walked off. The life lines of the city were severed. The men belonged to three of 27 local unions of the A.F.L. Teamsters Union. Twelve thousand belonged to Local 807 which handles much of the city's general trucking. Three thousand were members of Local 282, which handles the hauling of building supplies, and of Local 816, working for meat and liquor concerns. Though none of the other locals were on strike, picketing members of the striking unions soon made it dangerous for non-striking drivers. Sympathy walkouts occurred, and 10,000 teamsters struck in New Jersey.

The locals were continuing a fight which started last June when Local 807 opened negotiation for a new wage contract. Drivers in Local 807 were receiving from $8.45 to $11.63 a day. The union wanted a 30 per cent increase in wages and a 40-hour week. The operators rejected the demands though they did offer a $3.00 weekly increase. The rank and file in the unions and the operators turned down Mayor O'Dwyer's proposal of an 18½ cents an hour increase. On August 31, the old contracts expired. The strike was on.

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These strikes, in which a handful of men in key industries are able to jeopardize the health and livelihood of large communities, are bringing home to the people the truth of labor's increasing power. Backed by the Wagner Act, the striker knows that he may not be dismissed from his job for striking, and is sure of being at least partially successful in any strike, fair or unfair, which he may choose to join. It must become increasingly clear to the general public that legislative action is needed to bring about genuine around-the-table collective bargaining. But what is needed even more, is an understanding on the part of the union movement of the grave responsibility attendant on the ability to sabotage the life blood of entire communities and the economic system which brings the bacon home not only to the striker but to thousands of other community members also.

THE SCHOOL BELL DIDN'T RING

This fall another type of sabotage caught up with John Q. Public when 225 teachers in Norwalk, Connecticut, failed to turn up when the school bell started ringing. They were on strike for higher pay. The minimum salary for Norwalk women teachers is $1,300 a year; for men, $1,800. These are average or higher than average high school teachers' salaries, and they are admittedly, according to Norwalk's Commissioner of the Board of Estimate, inadequate.

It is a wonder that the teachers of more communities have not struck for higher pay as the cost of living has increased. A good percentage of a teaching staff in these days have attended four years of college; some have even gone to graduate school in order to be well qualified to teach John Q.'s children. But John Q., in the act of praising the educational system and while highly desirous of well-educated off-spring, is notoriously lackadaisical in the matter of salaries for the teachers. Many a father would never think of attempting to live on what he pays his son's teacher. Obviously, John Q. is capable of a little sabotage himself.

STOCK MARKET SLUMP

As our citizens, veteran, father, able seaman, truckman and householder struggled with their various and seemingly endless problems, the index of the country's economic progress curved downward, adding another note to the general tune of discouragement. On September 3, the New York Stock Exchange saw $6,000,000,000 in the value of listed issues wiped out. Stable securities cracked: Du Pont lost 17 points; United States Steel declined about 6 points. By the day's end, some 2,900,000 shares had hurriedly changed hands.

Though much of the week's recession was recovered by the weekend, the country and the world began to fear the possible causes of the collapse. The international situation was uncertain, and the domestic scene was losing completely its calm of the last months. Labor-management difficulties and declining profits for key industries were undoubtedly responsible for some uncertainty among stock holders.

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On November 5, the people will have a chance to choose the men whose actions and policies will do much toward helping or hindering the present domestic situation. As a harbinger of good and bad political fortune, the off-year election has failed only twice to point out the winner of the national election two years later.

On August 14, Joseph R. McCarty of Appleton, Wisconsin, defeated Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., in the Wisconsin Republican primary election. The defeat ended the La Follette dynasty which has been prominent in United States Senate affairs for 41 years. The Wisconsin bloc vote was also ended; it was obvious that the second and third generation Americans of German descent were voting in the interests of their own pocket books, failing to follow their father's isolationist and radical tendencies which had backed "old Bob La Follette" a generation ago.

The defeat was partially due to the split between liberals and the labor vote which occurred when Mr. La Follette decided to disband the Progressive Party last March and refused to join the democratic party. Many of his former supporters in industrial districts chose to vote for Mr. McMurray, the Democratic primary candidate. The C.I.O. Political Action Committee forces opposed Senator La Follette's renomination on the grounds of his foreign policy record.

Average citizens interested in which political party and which program will run the country in the coming years keep watchful eyes on New York's state politics. New York State has 47 electoral votes of a national total of 531. Only three times since the Civil War has the New York state vote been on the losing side of the presidential election. New York State governors have accounted for eight of the 20 presidential terms since Lincoln. Because of this key position, it is fortunate for the nation that the state has never been solidly for any one party; 12 times since the Civil War it voted for the Republican Presidential nominee and eight times it voted for the Democratic candidate.

Early in September, the three main political parties in the state, the Democrats, Republicans and American Labor chose candidates for the off-year elections to be held November 5. The primaries had already determined nominees for Congress and the State Legislature and party conventions were now to pick candidates for state-wide offices and for the Senate.

On September 4, the Republican State Convention at Saratoga Springs renominated Governor Dewey for the governorship of the state and chose as nominee for the senate, Irving M. Ives, Republican leader of the Assembly, and Dean of the state School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell.

In Albany, on the same day, the Democrats chose Senator James M. Mead, chairman of the War Investigating Committee, to run for governor, and former Governor Herbert H. Lehman for senator. These choices were seconded by the American Labor party meeting in New York City whose support was also given to President Roosevelt in 1940 and 1944 and is considered a vital asset by the Democratic party.

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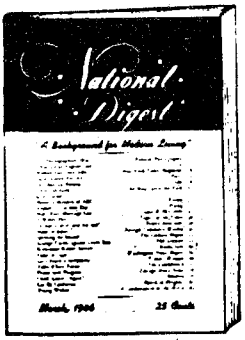

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FORUM FEATURES

Ed Ritter, who taught in the War Relocation Authority's high school at the Tule Lake Relocation Center in 1943 and is now principal of the School of Organic Education in Fairhope, Alabama, returns to the pages of **FORUM** with an interesting article "Tomorrow's Voters." In his critical analysis of our schools' failure to educate for citizenship, Mr. Ritter states, "the school should certainly cease to abide dullness even under the dignified alias of objectivity!" He presents a sympathetic understanding of the handicaps faced by the teacher who must hide "all strong feelings on controversial issues," which often results in the student receiving a completely erroneous and colorless view of social studies.

"If the British Commonwealth is obsolete, so is our hope of founding a democratic world order," **Frederick Cramer** concludes his controversial article on the British Empire on page 289 of this month's **FORUM.** Mr. Cramer, a professor of History at at Mount Holyoke College, was born in Berlin, was educated in Berlin and at the Erlangen University in Bavaria and in Zurich. He was forced to leave Germany under the Nazi regime and has lived since 1937 in the United States.

"The Hitlerian Legend," by Melvin Kranzberg, of the Department of History at the Stevens Institute of Technology in Hoboken, New Jersey, is his second article to appear in **FORUM,** since his return from both Intelligence and Combat service with the Army in France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany.

The man who reads the daily newspapers with increasing anguish of soul may draw comfort from Howard Vincent O'Brien's Column, "In Praise of Pessimism." Mr. O'Brien states his conviction that "the pessimist grows a sturdy soul. Expecting the worst, he is not surprised when it comes and is delighted with anything less."

John Gassner offers a trenchant analysis of our theatre in **The Theatre Arts.**

FORUM invites your comment on any of the controversial issues of the day in **Our Rostrum.** Do you agree with Frederick Cramer's ideas concerning the British Empire? Do you want to take issue with **Joseph Williams'** thesis in this month's **FORUM**— that the National Sovereign State is an anachronism? Are you satisfied with **Morley Dilke's** attack on the thesis? Let us have your opinions next month in **Our Rostrum.**

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